TV Movie Sparks Protest • Professionals Push Peace Plan

·NUCLEAR· TIMES

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COALITION BUILDING

The King March ... and Beyond

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LETTERS

Conflicting Reports

In "Doing Better Than The Freeze" [July '83], Norman Solomon and Ada Sanchez abbreviated George Kistiakowsky's farewell words and twisted his message. Their essay illustrates a growing, and unnecessary, conflict in the antinuclear movement between those who choose public protest and those who choose political action.

The conflict is unnecessary because the approaches should be complementary. That was Kistiakowsky's point. He did say, "Forget the channels." He did urge the creation of "a mass movement for peace such as there has not been before." But he added, "Then lead the movement so that instead of the few now in Washington, *many will be elected to Congress who have a true and unbreakable commitment to search for peace.*" (Emphasis mine.)

—Nancy Myers
Business Executives Move
Chicago, Ill.

To Air Is Human

Cathy Cevoli's article about celebrity involvement in the nuclear disarmament movement ["Antinuclear Stars Come Out," July '83] drew well-deserved attention to a group of people who are in a unique position to educate the American public about the dangers of the nuclear arms race. But the piece contained an inaccuracy. The radio and television public service announcements that WAND [Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament] produced for its Millions of Moms campaign with the help of Meryl Streep, Goldie Hawn, Sally Field and Lily Tomlin were, in fact, broadcast in 22 states and in Canada. Cable television stations were very receptive to the 30-second video with Meryl Streep.

This is not to deny the difficulty of getting air time for public service announcements that deal with so-called controversial subjects, nor is it to claim a level of success beyond what similar groups have experienced. The results of our public service announcement campaign were modest, but encouraging.

—Diane Aronson
Women's Action for
Nuclear Disarmament
Arlington, Mass.

Cathy Cevoli replies: I regret the error. I assumed the information to be accurate because it came from a publicist who has worked closely with WAND.

All Things Nuclear

Regarding the link between nuclear power and atomic weapons ["Letters," June '83]: In actual fact these are *not* two separate but related or "linked" problems—they are one and the same. The overriding reason why a full-scale atomic war would likely mean human extinction is the intense radioactive contamination of the environment caused by nuclear explosions. The rampant cancer, genetic disease, sterility and reproductive problems that would follow are what make it unlikely that those outside the blasts would survive long. Yet this is precisely why, on a smaller scale, nuclear power is unacceptable, all questions of nuclear war aside: A single accident in any of the nuclear power reactors which ring Chicago or New York could release enough radiation to kill tens of thousands—ultimately hundreds of thousands—and make those cities and a much larger area permanently unlivable.

Building nuclear bombs and generating nuclear electricity are really just two different products of the same nuclear industry. To get bombs or power, you've got to mine, enrich, and process uranium, and you've got to run reactors and reactor fuel reprocessing plants. And in the process, vast amounts of radioactivity are created, and begin leaking. Furthermore, since the basic industrial processes are the same, the spread of nuclear power technology around the globe makes possible and drives the nuclear arms race.

The implication is clear: we've got to stop *both* nuclear power and nuclear weapons—fast.

—Edward M. Gogol
Chicago, Ill.

New Kid On The Bloc

Glad to see the Soviet article "Trust-Busting, Soviet Style " [June '83]. In my eyes it is to your infinite credit that the subject of the autonomous peace movements in the Soviet bloc is given prominent attention. It's good to see you distance yourself from the hypocritical cowardice so characteristic of the Left in this respect.

—Bruce Allen
St. Catherines, Ontario

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•EARLY WARNINGS•

RISKS FOR PEACE: Sometimes working against nuclear weapons is risky. Take Jane Jackson, a physics professor at South Dakota State University in Brookings and treasurer of the Brookings chapter of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament. According to Hazel Long, chairperson of the WAND local, Jackson is one of the more vocal and visible members of the group—several of her letters to the editor have been published in the local paper in the past year. And these letters have brought recriminations—in the form of vandalism against Jackson's home.

Her first letter to the editor, written as treasurer of WAND, appeared last September and voiced support for a local congressional candidate who favored the freeze. A few weeks later someone spray-painted her front door over the spot where she was displaying the candidate's poster. She wrote another letter to the editor complaining about the incident, and shortly afterward hammers and sickles were spray-painted on her front door and on her car. Three weeks later this happened again. "Then we had snow all winter long and nothing happened," says Jackson, "though I tried to write once a month."

On May 1, she again found a hammer and sickle on her front door. And on July 7, when she and her family returned from a vacation, they discovered four hammer and sickles on the back of their house—and a valve on a propane gas tank that leads into their home had been opened. "The fire chief said it was a good thing we came home during the day," Jackson says. "If we had had to flick on a light switch, there might have been an explosion."

Local police don't have any clues as to who is responsible, Jackson reports. Though she had decided not to write any more letters even before the incident with the gas tank, figuring it was time for someone else in the group to have a chance, Jackson asserts that the acts of vandalism will not keep her from speaking out.

BERNSTEIN'S BAND STAND: Leonard Bernstein will be going home to Lawrence, Massachusetts, to celebrate his 65th birthday amid a fanfare of music, testimonials and fireworks. At the center of all the festivities for the renowned conductor/composer will be Bernstein's birthday wish for a nuclear freeze.

In preparation for the August 25 celebration, organizers say they will send 700,000 sky blue arm bands to individuals and groups around the world. "People will be wearing the bands to show their solidarity with Bernstein's freeze wish," says project originator Larry Frizzell in Lawrence. Among those who have promised to band together are Beverly Sills, Susan Sarandon, Mia Farrow, Michael Tilson Thomas, Senator Edward Kennedy and Jason Robards. The climax of the day's festivities in Lawrence will be when Bernstein conducts the Merrimac Valley Philharmonic and the Greater Boston Youth Symphony Orchestra at Lawrence Memorial Stadium. Bernstein's right arm will bear a light blue band.

Preparing for Bernstein's birthday: Robards, Colleen Dewhurst, Darren McGavin, Geoffrey Holder, John Houseman and Sarandon making arm bands

PERSHING ACCIDENT: If Pershing 2 missiles are deployed in West Germany at the end of this year, as called for by current NATO plans, they will be placed on transportable launchers and shuttled throughout the country. At the wheel will be Army crews who now transport the Pershing 1a missiles (which have a shorter range and are less accurate than the Pershing 2 missiles), and who have already had their share of road trouble.

Last November, for instance, an Army truck towing a Pershing missile launcher equipped with a Pershing 1a in Waldprechtsweier, West Germany, crashed into four civilian cars, killing the driver of one. According to Army accident reports obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by NUCLEAR TIMES, the crash occurred after the drivers of the truck and three accompanying vehicles "failed to anticipate being held up by traffic lights . . . and became separated from their convoy." They missed a turnoff, became lost, and found themselves driving down a steep hill, when the brakes on the missile-towing truck, as well as those on another truck, failed. After crashing, the missile launcher caught on fire, and the crew members who were not injured had to put it out. Following the accident, the residents of the small village were evacuated. The Army refuses to say whether the missile, which is capable of carrying a nuclear warhead, was armed.

According to these reports, Master Sergeant Lamonte Johnson, the driver of the truck towing the launcher, had been on continuous duty for 16 hours before the accident and had only four hours of sleep within the 24 hours prior to the crash. Before he left the base in the driver's seat of the five-ton truck, Johnson told his platoon sergeant that he did not want to drive.

POSTING A THREAT: When *The Washington Post* ran a story on the Nuclear Emergency Search Team (NEST), a low-profile group of government scientists and technicians who respond to threats of nuclear terrorism, it provided two alleged examples of nuclear threats that had occurred in Washington, D.C. "In 1976," the *Post* reported, referring to one of the cases, "the anti-nuclear group Green Peace [sic] said it placed a nuclear device inside a van parked in front of the White House." The newspaper quoted a NEST official saying, "We found a parked van with a 55-gallon drum full of concrete with a recording device that went tick, tick, tick." He added, "They said it was a nuclear bomb, but it was really a recording device."

The NEST official was wrong on both counts. What had happened was that in 1980 (not 1976) Greenpeace staged a demonstration in front of the White House to protest U.S. policy on nuclear waste dumping. There they displayed a 55-gallon drum that housed one ounce of radioactive uranium mill trailings sealed in a lead-lined container. A Geiger counter, indicating the radiation contained in the apparatus, was attached to the drum. Although the police quickly removed the drum to verify it was safe—it

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

was—the protest was legal.

Greenpeace staffers were quite upset about being labeled nuclear terrorists by the *Post*, says Peter Dykstra, the group's media liaison. The organization began a libel action, he adds, but when the *Post* published a correction and offered to do a feature story on Greenpeace, the group agreed not to sue.

What led to the screw-up? In its correction the *Post* reported that the drum was "described incorrectly as a 'possible bomb' by police at the scene, who relayed their concern to the Secret Service and NEST." What the correction didn't explain, among other things, was that, according to Dykstra, the *Post* never attempted to contact Greenpeace prior to publication of the story.

SITING PRECEDENTS: Twenty tents of the first women's peace camp in the United States are still pitched across the road from a sprawling Boeing plant that produces two cruise missiles per day. The camp opened June 20 in Kent, Washington, a conservative suburb south of Seattle. The women leaflet Boeing workers every day and perform street theater at unemployment and food-stamp offices. Community reaction is mixed, but there have been no confrontations to date. Admitting that their goal of halting cruise production is "probably far away," the 40 to 50 women are debating engaging in civil disobedience against the Boeing Aerospace Company.

Setting up shower at Puget Sound Camp

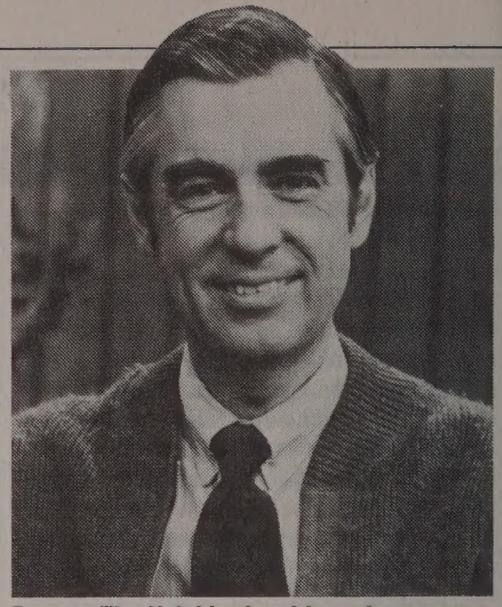
The camp occupies an acre of city land, leased after a stormy city council session led to a tie vote of three-three broken by Kent Mayor Isabel Hogan. The Mayor shrugged off the political risk and later joined the camp's opening day march. Women from as far away as West Germany and the Netherlands are among hundreds of visitors who have come to the camp. Vowing to stay "as long as we can hold out," the women hope to purchase private land when the lease on the city-owned land ends in September.

On the East Coast, organizers of the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice outside of the Seneca Army Depot (SEAD) in Romulus, New York, say that over 500 women showed up for the camp's opening on July 4, and estimate a steady population of approximately 300 at the camp. Activities there range from the symbolic to the educational to direct action. In late July, 69 campers—most from Minnesota's Women Against Military Madness—were taken to the local police station after handcuffing themselves to the SEAD gate. All were issued ban and bar letters prohibiting reentry to SEAD under threat of arrest. The campers staged their main civil disobedience action on August 1. "We'll keep going back," says camper Nancy Alach. "We want them to know that we're a presence here." Although the camp is officially slated to close on Labor Day, women there predict that opponents of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles will be a presence in Romulus well into the fall.

NO PLAN, NO FUNDS: Last September when Marilyn Braun, coordinator of emergency management in Greensboro, North Carolina, filed her office's fiscal year 1983 budget, she deliberately refused to meet one of the state's requirements—updating her office's emergency plan for nuclear war. (See NUCLEAR TIMES, Nov./Dec. 1982.) This put at risk $33,000 in federal funds—one-third of her budget—earmarked for all emergency planning in Greensboro and Guilford County. Now, almost a year later, the state, which controls the distribution of the federal funds, still refuses to release the money. And Braun continues to assert that her office "cannot design any system that can protect people from nuclear war."

Instead of updating the nuclear war plan, Braun organized a citizens' committee to study various aspects of nuclear war. Next month it will present reports to the city council and the county commission on three areas—civil defense, nuclear weapons and their effects, and health physics related to nuclear war. "This is what we are offering the community," Braun says. "That's all we can offer." Braun hopes this "education component" will satisfy the demands of the state emergency planning office, but she is not optimistic. In the meantime, her office has been operating as if it had received the federal money. The town manager is simply sending the bills to the state.

THERE GOES THE NEIGHBORHOOD: *Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood* will enter the Atomic Age this November when the Public Broadcasting Service's children's series embarks on a week-long special on the arms race. Without mentioning the word "nuclear," the program, titled "Conflict," will present an allegory of nuclear issues that takes place in the Neighborhood world of Make-Believe.



Rogers: The Neighborhood is up in arms

Aimed at an audience of mainly three- to five-year-olds, the story will be relatively simple. King of the Neighborhood, Friday XIII, suspects that Cornflake S. Pecially is manufacturing "bombs" in the Neighborhood factory. It is discovered that people of nearby Southwood have ordered small parts from the factory, but nobody in Make-Believe knows what the parts are for. Nevertheless, King Friday XIII asks all the Neighbors to prepare for war against Southwood by joining the army or building bombs. Amidst all this confusion, Lady Elaine Fairchilde and Lady Aberline resist the King's requests and go on a fact-finding peace mission that turns up some surprising information, revealed at the end of the series.

Fred Rogers, host and creator of the show, points out that whether or not we want children to know about nuclear weapons, they have already heard about them. But the deeper question, he notes, concerns the overall issue of violence. "On television," he says, "children sometimes see real and cartoon characters solve problems through violence. If someone is mad at someone else, he can just shoot a gun: There goes the problem—and the person who caused it." Children need to be shown alternatives, he explains. "We need to recognize what causes peace, as well as war. We need to encourage children to value all human beings."

NOT NOW LYNDON: Lyndon LaRouche, head of the secretive National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC), and candidate for president in 1980, is known for his bizarre political stands and far-fetched conspiracy theories. Members of

PHOTOS BY REBECCA JOHNSON (LEFT) & COURTESY OF FAMILY COMMUNICATIONS, INC. (RIGHT)

his group are frequently spotted in airport terminals proselytizing in favor of laser weapons and nuclear energy. Recently LaRouche has been using his own particular brand of logic to attack the antinuclear movement. He has claimed that the freeze campaign, supposedly controlled by former Establishment policymakers Robert S. McNamara, William Colby and McGeorge Bundy, has a hidden agenda of launching colonialist wars against the Third World using conventional weapons. And members of his various organizations have disrupted meetings of antinuclear activists.

Now LaRouche is pushing a new conspiracy theory, this one regarding opposition to deploying cruise missiles in Sicily. According to LaRouche, the "fascist-influenced" peace movement is staging demonstrations there to achieve a separatist coup to break the island off from Italy. The movement, says NDPC literature, "would make Sicily a gift to Libya's Qaddafi, making it a launching pad for terrorism against Europe." Thus, LaRouche claims, Qaddafi is "leading" and "heavily funding" the international peace movement. Supporting this scheme, he says in a NDPC report, are "dope-running friends of Billy Carter," officials of the Department of Justice, the Mafia, the "Israeli mafia" and the "neo-Nazi international." LaRouche claims that he has rushed this "estimate" to "relevant agencies of the U.S. government."

NO NUKES IN THE NORTH: On July 23, eight days after Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced that Canada would permit the United States to test the cruise missile over Canadian soil, thousands of activists in both Canada and the United States staged protests, calling for Canada to "refuse the cruise." In Toronto, 3000 protesters, including church leaders and politicians, marched through the center of town, in defiance of a police order, tying up traffic for 90 minutes. Rallies were also held in Vancouver, Montreal and Ottawa. In Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 300 miles from the proposed testing site along the Alberta border, children in a crowd of 1500 surrounded city hall and chanted, "I want to grow up, not blow up." In the United States demonstrators picketed at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson, Arizona, where cruise missile crews have been trained. On July 27, 44 were arrested at Griffis Air Force Base in Rome, New York, where cruise missiles are based.

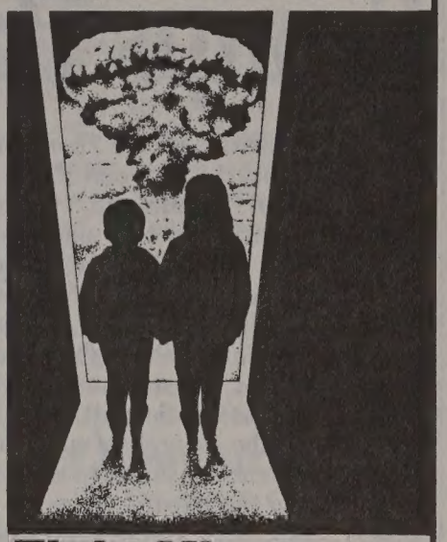
Many of the protesters noted that Trudeau's decision runs counter to the numerous appeals for disarmament he has made in the past 15 years. For instance, in 1978, at the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, he called for a "strategy of suffocation" to end the arms race (it included some elements of the freeze). But now Trudeau, according to a Gallup poll taken earlier this year, has adopted an unpopular stand. The poll found 52 percent of Canadians opposing testing and only 37 percent in favor. Trudeau, in a recent radio interview, did say there was one way the Canadian majority could have its wish. All it had to do, he explained, was put another government in office.

WAR COLLEGE AND PEACE: President Reagan and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger may claim they don't care about what the antinuclear movement has to say, but there are some within the Pentagon who do care. This spring five students at the Pentagon's National Defense University (NDU) produced a research report entitled "What are the Implications for US Defense Policy of Growing Nuclear Dissent in the United States?" The research group, which included personnel from the Air Force, Army, State Department and National Security Agency, concluded that a "lack of government response to the dissent movement could contribute to a breakdown of national policy." They also found that the antinuclear movement threatens "the military hardware acquisition process" and might be influencing military personnel who operate nuclear weapons. The report recommends that the government take "immediate steps" to "remove [nuclear] issues from the political environment and place them in the professional arena."

Some members of the disarmament community in Washington, D.C., who were interviewed for the report, were worried that the Pentagon was out to red-bait or distort the movement. But the research group notes that the motives and competence of the dissenters should not be questioned and that Reagan's method of relying on statistics and "Red Menace" themes is not an effective counter to the movement. The paper also contains some amusing errors, such as including the Moral Majority in the list of antinuclear groups.

Although the report does not represent official government opinion, its preparation was suggested by someone in a government agency or major command of the armed forces. The study, prepared under the auspices of the National War College, a branch of the NDU, was completed in fulfillment of the school's research requirement, and the paper's subject, like all suggested topics for the college's research projects, was submitted by an interested government official. Upon completion, the report was sent to its sponsor, an administration official who agrees to read it—in this case, a consultant in the State Department. □

Nuclear Issues Films & Video



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PLANNING FOR "THE DAY AFTER"

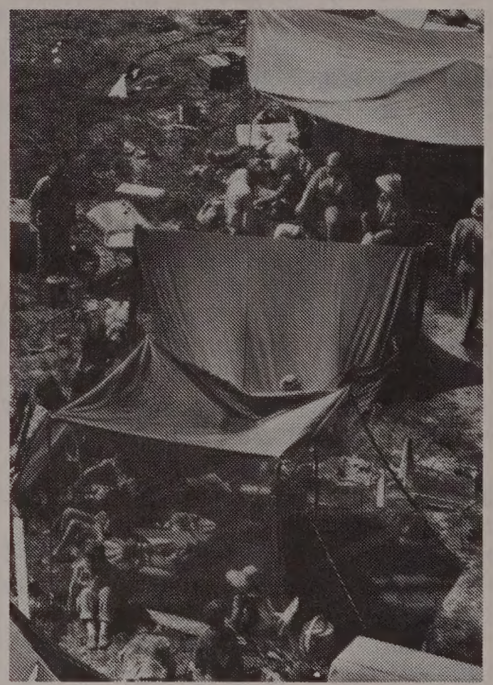
Groups Rally Around TV Movie

In the tradition of *The Thorn Birds*, *The Winds of War* and *Roots*, the American Broadcasting Company has promised another media event this fall—this one based on nuclear war. Sometime in October or November, ABC will air its long-delayed, made-for-television movie *The Day After*, starring Jason Robards, and millions of Americans will witness a nuclear attack on Kansas City and the struggle of survivors in nearby Lawrence, Kansas, to stay alive. According to the handful of people who have seen the two-and-a-half-hour drama, it is the most graphic portrayal of nuclear war yet attempted by any network or major film studio. Kansas City is obliterated, and those who survive the initial blast fight a losing battle against radiation sickness, food shortages and the disintegration of social institutions. Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Motion Pictures, has called *The Day After* "the most important film we have ever done."

Even though the film depicts the failure of deterrence, ABC spokesman Dan Doran says that the movie takes no political stand. And persons who have viewed it say the film leaves the viewer with a feeling of despair. But it is the intent of several antinuclear organizations, in the words of Josh Baran, national media consultant for Target Kansas City, "to turn a television commercial event into an educational event on our own terms."

Target Kansas City, Baran's brainchild and a project of the Greater Kansas City Physicians for Social Responsibility, will use *The Day After* as the centerpiece for what he calls "a national educational forum." Baran hopes that antinuclear groups across the country will make use of *The Day After* by staging their own events, holding press conferences and placing representatives on local radio and television talk shows. There have been discussions among movement activists about using the film in attempts to rally opposition against deployment of the Euromissiles.

The ABC film is "*The Last Epidemic* for the general public," says Baran, noting that in one night 10 to 20 times as many people will see the network film as the total number of persons who will ever see the Helen Caldicott documentary. But the problem with *The Day After*, he adds, is that it does not go far beyond the point of illustrating—using chilling special effects—the horrors of nuclear war. "There's not one line in the movie," says Baran, "like 'Why did we build these missiles?' Not one comment like 'Why didn't we find a way to live in peace?' It's pretty depoliticized."



Lawrence residents playing nuclear war "extras" during filming of "The Day After"

In order to focus national attention on the political implications of *The Day After*, Target Kansas City is planning a series of events (many local peace groups in Kansas City are joining PSR in this effort). In the weeks leading up to the film's airing, Target Kansas City will sponsor lectures and symposia on nuclear war, says Diane Eagle, the project's associate director. The day of the film, the project plans a rally prior to its showing, with a release of balloons to show how the fallout pattern of a nuclear attack on Kansas City would spread. Immediately following the film, Eagle says, there will be a candlelight march and vigil. And the day after *The Day After*, the activities will continue with a sunrise women's march through Kansas City and an evening town hall meeting on nuclear war.

Forty miles away in Lawrence, an affiliated project, Let Lawrence Live, will sponsor similar actions. Lawrence is where Robards and much of the rest of the cast come to grips with the effects of nuclear war. During on-location filming, director Nicholas Meyer used over 1500 Lawrence residents to play victims of the attack. Local peace groups, says Steve McKinney, executive director of the Lawrence-based Athletes United for Peace, "are looking for big things from this movie. It will let people see the issue as it is."

All of the events planned by Target Kansas City and Let Lawrence Live, says Baran, are designed to bring national media attention to local activities which will amplify or correct points made in the film. "The film is not by any means perfect," says Baran. "For instance, at the end of the movie the survivors try to keep on living. The truth is, if you look at the fallout patterns, no one would survive in Lawrence."

But with the film's dramatic and upsetting depictions of sympathetic characters being vaporized on screen and its accurate portrayal of radiation sickness, the ABC network, Baran and Eagle note, is handing the movement a wonderful opportunity to reach more people, especially in the Kansas City area. "When people see their homes destroyed, they will have questions," Eagle explains. "We have to make sure there are people here to address these questions."

The key to using *The Day After* effectively around the country as an organizing tool, says Baran, a publicist based in Berkeley, California, is to get the message out to those who watch the movie that there is a way they can help prevent such a war. "Anyone can use this film," he adds, "and hopefully for something more than a potluck dinner, which is what the peace movement is famous for."

The film will air, he notes, shortly before NATO deploys cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Western Europe. In the film the presence of these missiles contributes to the deterioration of East-West relations leading up to the war. The war itself starts along the German border, and it is never made clear who fires the first nuclear shot. But soon afterward both the United States and the Soviet Union launch their intercontinental ballistic missiles *en masse*.

"The only way to reach people today is through television," Baran says. "The time and money spent to make this film would take the entire peace movement's budget of $20 million. We have to take advantage of this free time." **—David Corn**

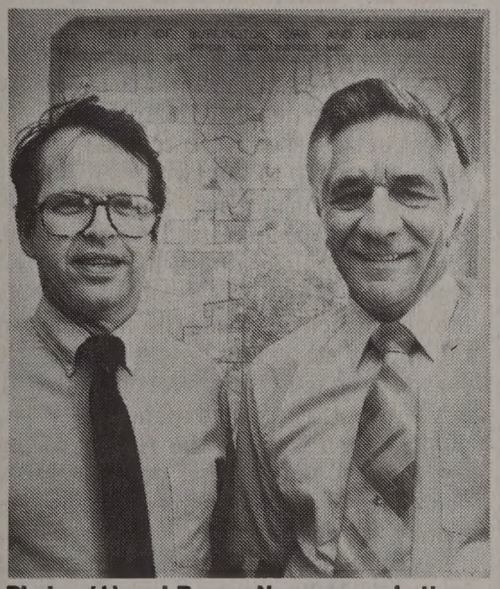
PHOTO BY JULIAN H. GONZALEZ/*LAWRENCE JOURNAL WORLD*

Weapons On The Edge Of Town

You're Jerry Rigdon and you should be in heaven. The federal government starts making noise about creating hundreds of jobs and spending millions of dollars in Burlington, Iowa. You're the mayor of that river city, where unemployment has topped 14 percent for months, and Uncle Sam couldn't have knocked at a better time. Happy days are here again.

But there's a catch. To create those jobs, the federal government wants to build nuclear weapons in the city's backyard. The Chamber of Commerce doesn't seem to mind. It remembers the days when 10,000 people worked at the local weapons plant and spent their paychecks downtown. But as mayor, you want the butter, not the guns. What do you do?

If you're Jerry Rigdon, you tell the federal government to take a hike.



Rigdon (l) and Bauer: No guns, no butter

"I just think that nuclear weapons are insane," says Rigdon, the 44-year-old Burlington mayor who owns a window washing company. "I just don't see any sense in building more and more when you already have enough to obliterate everything. What's the sense in it?"

Choosing an answer to that question has enlivened coffee shop talk and divided many of the Iowa city's 50,000 residents. Some, like Rigdon, believe the quickest way to end the arms buildup is to stop the building of arms. Others, including the president of the city's Chamber of Commerce, contend that if nuclear arms are going to be built, they might as well be built in Burlington.

A peaceful, pretty city, Burlington could be the training ground for Olympic cyclists. Hilly streets, and the railroad tracks common to river towns, lead into the downtown area. According to *Ripley's Believe It Or Not*, the city boasts one street, Snake Alley, that is the "crookedest street in the world." The age of the city (which townspeople claim to be the oldest settlement in Iowa) is attested to by venerable brick houses and neighborhood pubs. Stirring the debate within these old structures is the subject of the Iowa Army Ammunition Plant, dormant since 1975 and located eight miles west in the small town of Middletown.

The ruckus started after the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) released an environmental impact statement in December recommending an expansion of the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, the final point of assembly for all nuclear weapons in the country. Under federal law, DOE officials were required to list options other than the Texas expansion.

One of those options was to revive the Iowa Army Ammunition Plant. For federal officials, the plant was a natural choice. The facility had been involved heavily in the production of nuclear weapons since 1947, but was shut down in 1975, two years after the Nixon administration ordered production stopped and the equipment shipped to Texas. Both plants are operated by the same company, Mason and Hanger-Silas Mason.

Two possibilities were listed in the report regarding the plant near Burlington. The first would shift *part* of the weapons construction to that plant, requiring $216 million and 1000 new workers. The second would move *all* operations to Iowa at a cost of $1.5 billion, creating 2600 new jobs. Another alternative called for building a new plant on the Hanford Reservation near Richland, Washington.

The report received little attention in Burlington until February, when residents learned the possibility existed that their city would be back in the nuclear weapons business. Sides were drawn quickly, with Charles Fichtenkort, then president of the Burlington Chamber of Commerce, and Rigdon, also a chamber member, taking opposing views:

Fichtenkort: "I think if the economy were different, you might hear different thoughts on it. I just feel that if you're going to build nuclear weapons, why not here? Anytime somebody wants to offer that kind of building, my reaction is, 'Let's go.' "

Rigdon: "My answer to that is, if it's just money and jobs we're after, why don't we contract with Russia and build

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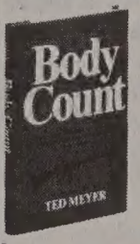

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theirs too? You give me $200 billion or how-many billions of dollars with the mandate to create jobs, and I will create a lot of jobs, but you don't have to build nuclear weapons. I am opposed to building them in Amarillo, Richland, Moscow or Burlington."

But, like Burlington Councilman Lowell Bauer, plant supporters issue a disclaimer before explaining why they favor weapons construction in southeastern Iowa. "I'm certainly not a warmonger," Bauer says. "I simply say that if our country is committed to doing it—and it looks like we are—then I think the plant in Burlington certainly is capable of doing the work. We built those weapons here for years and there weren't any consequences. I'm putting my faith and trust in the government."

Wayne Coin takes a similar stand. Though Coin, the business representative for District 131 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, blurs the differences between the two sides in the debate, the bottom line remains jobs. "I am against nuclear weapons, nuclear power, nuclear waste and nuclear transportation—whatever is nuclear I am against," says Coin, spokesman for a union local whose membership has dropped steadily since all nuclear weapon operations were stopped near Burlington. "But until that point in time when we no longer make nuclear weapons, there's work for the people and we should be doing it. I don't see anything wrong with having our people perform the duties. That may be contradictory, I don't know."

Coin's position is not that of the leadership of his union; its president, William Winpisinger, supports the freeze and has consistently voiced opposition to the military buildup. But Coin says he has received no pressure from the union to change his stand. Most of his fellow union workers, Coin claims, feel the way he does. They are against the construction of nuclear weapons, he maintains, but "they would like to keep working and those who are laid off would like to have jobs."

After the controversy began, the mayor quickly became a staunch ally and chief spokesman for several peace groups in Burlington, such as Citizens for Peace and the United Nations Association. And he has irritated some of the plant's backers in the process. "I've received some criticism from some of the local citizenry about my stand," Rigdon says. "But even people who disagree strongly with me—and I mean strongly—have not gotten nasty about it."

It has been a debate without bitterness, says Sally McMillan, a member of Citizens for Peace. "One of the reasons for that," she explains, "is we're approaching it in a very educational manner instead of confrontational. Those of us who are opposed to it, we're interested in jobs, too. The question is, what kind of jobs do we want? The people who are for reopening the plant haven't looked at the wider picture. I'm not sure they realize what nuclear weapons will do."

To inform them, Citizens for Peace and the United Nations Association have held several forums and activities throughout Ground Zero Week in April. At the Des Moines County Fair, peace organizations distributed informational bulletins and ice cream. Representatives of Citizens for Peace and the United Nations Association also met with Governor Terry Branstad to explain their opposition to nuclear weapons construction in Iowa and the interstate shipment of nuclear waste through Burlington. Branstad, says McMillan, "listened well" to the group's arguments, "but he didn't make any commitment as far as doing anything."

The two peace groups, though, have reaped benefits from the DOE report. As a result of the debate, McMillan says, interest in this issue has increased, as well as membership in the two groups.

Federal officials say the debate in Burlington is premature. David Jackson, director of public affairs for the DOE's operations office in Albuquerque, New Mexico, which produced the environmental impact statement, notes he has "no reason to believe" the government will do anything other than expand the Texas plant, which is what the report recommends. He says a final decision is expected early next year after citizens comment on the report.

Nevertheless some of Burlington's residents, McMillan explains, are discussing the arms race and the threat of nuclear extinction seriously for the first time in their lives. As an example, she points to Rigdon, who says he "never even knew I had such strong feelings about the nuclear issue before this." Rigdon maintains he doesn't care about the political damage of his remarks because he has no intention of running for office again. "I'm just telling people what I think, that's all," he says. "This is going to be the big issue of the '80s, and we'd better start talking about it before it's too late. I feel very strongly that there are few political solutions in this country. The solution must be a solution of spirit, and I don't see any reason why Burlington can't be a part of that solution." **—Ken Fuson**

Ken Fuson is a reporter for the Des Moines Register.

Round-Up

Congress Approves MX But Support Is Slipping

■ The July 20 House vote on the MX, though granting the Reagan Administration a narrow victory, showed that support for the missile may well be slipping. By a vote of 220-207 the House authorized $2.6 billion for the production of the first 27 MX missiles. But the margin of victory was significantly less than that of the 239-186 May vote, which released development and testing funds for the MX. And the following day the House, by voice vote, passed an amendment reducing the authorization to $2.2 billion for 21 missiles. MX opponents in Washington, D.C., say that the July 20 vote indicates the MX might be vulnerable when it comes up for an appropriations vote in late September or October.

This recent vote, says Doug Waller, an aide to Representative Edward Markey, "shows a growing disenchantment in the House over Reagan's so-called flexible arms control package. Some members are realizing he's not any more flexible than before." And April Moore of the National Campaign To Stop the MX notes that after turning around the votes of 20 representatives, MX opponents now only need to convince another nine House members to attain a clear majority.

Both Moore and Waller say that a strong lobbying effort by antinuclear groups, including Common Cause, SANE, and the Council for a Livable World, helped to counter the administration's push for the MX. As a spokesman for Les Aspin, a leading supporter of the MX, said after the vote, "the phone has been ringing for months." Yet, he added, Aspin is "still fighting" for the missile: "This vote means more work for him."

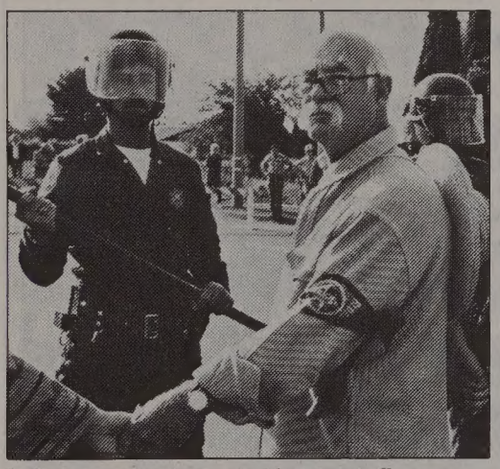
Moore also credits Senator Gary Hart's filibuster, which postponed a Senate vote on the MX until after the House vote, for the close vote. On July 27, the Senate, where MX support is firmer, authorized funds for the MX by a 58-41 vote.

But now anti-MX groups are gearing up for the House appropriations vote, trying again to generate constituent pressure. Prior to the July House vote, the National Campaign To Stop the MX sent out a contingent of military experts to swing districts, and Moore says the campaign will do this again before the next vote. She adds, "We've been encouraged by the momentum."—**David Corn**

LAG Protesters Win Showdown With Judge

■ The last 200 Livermore Action Group demonstrators left the Alameda County jail in early July after serving 14 days in connection with the June 20 blockade of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. Their release ended a lengthy stand-off between 1000 demonstrators resolved not to accept fines or probation and a superior court judge clearly angered by the unrelenting blockades at the nation's leading nuclear weapons design facility.

Judge Anthony Lewis originally told LAG's lawyers that demonstrators pleading guilty or no contest to charges of interfering with traffic would receive two years probation and fines of $300. The demonstrators, who feared the probation requirement would prevent them from participating in future blockades, refused to be arraigned until the judge agreed to drop the probation and fines.



Lab demonstrators would not pay fines

The protesters strained the facilities of the Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center, where they were housed in large striped carnival tents rented by the county for the occasion. Lewis finally agreed on June 28 to sentence those who would plead guilty to eight days in jail in addition to the time they had already served. (Roughly 200 pleaded not guilty and face trials later this summer.) The sentence, although harsh, was hailed as a victory by LAG, which had organized the event as part of its International Day of Disarmament activities.

This was the sixth time since February 1982 that LAG organized a blockade of the weapons lab, which is operated under a government contract. A lab spokesman said that the cost of additional security for the June 20 demonstration was about $750,000—roughly half what the lab spends developing nuclear weapons every working day.

Further protests at Livermore have not been slated. But LAG is planning demonstrations to coincide with the national protests against the Euromissiles this October. LAG's Ken Nightingale says that the group will hold a large legal demonstration and may stage civil disobedience outside the offices of corporations that manufacture parts for cruise and Pershing 2 missiles.

—**Tim Redmond**

Electric Boat Fires Nuclear Freeze Activist

■ It's not easy to work both in the nuclear freeze movement and on Trident nuclear submarines at General Dynamics' Electric Boat shipyard. Peter Fisher, a shipfitter and peace activist, was fired from his job at the Groton, Connecticut, shipyard in April, he claims, because of his political activities. Recently he filed an unfair labor practices complaint with the National Labor Relations Board against the company for violating his constitutional right of free speech and against his union, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, for refusing to help him win back his job. Fisher also plans to file a lawsuit in federal district court against Electric Boat and the union, contending that his dismissal is illegal.

During his five and a half years at the shipyard, Fisher was involved with various Connecticut peace groups and helped organize a committee of dissident Trident workers, called Trade Unionists for Democratic Action, who favor a bilateral nuclear freeze. He is currently a member of the executive committee of the Southeast Connecticut Nuclear Arms Freeze Campaign, based in New London.

Electric Boat officials claim that Fisher was fired for disobeying work rules, not because of politics. Fisher says the charges are false or exaggerated—and the culmination of a long company/union campaign to silence him. "It's not part of the contract that I have to support the arms race," Fisher says. "A lot of dishwashers don't really enjoy washing dishes or streetcleaners cleaning streets, but they do it. The antinuclear movement needs workers on the inside, on the frontlines, because it's at the point of production where the arms race is eventually going to stop."

Yet Fisher is disappointed that peace groups haven't helped him in his uphill legal struggle against Electric Boat. "There's no organizational way to protect workers who stick their neck out on the conversion issue," he says. "That's something the freeze campaign is going to have to deal with because they're going to see more and more of it happening."

—**Susan Jaffe**

PHOTO BY MARI KANE/CUSTOMARI

GUILDING THE MOVEMENT

Professional Approach To Peace

Chances are the words "antinuclear activist" do not bring to mind your high school physics teacher, family doctor or local attorney. But over the last two years, dozens of professional groups, combining expertise with enthusiasm, have brought sizable new constituencies into the movement. Largely concerned at the outset with intensive self-education, in recent months many of these groups have begun shifting their focus to outreach, lobbying and practical activity.

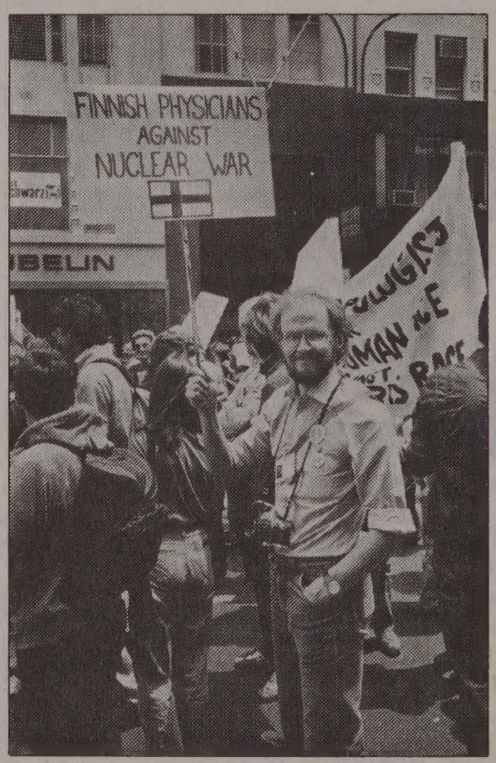
This spring, the Wisconsin chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility persuaded the state school board to declare it "appropriate" that peace studies—emphasizing the dilemma of the nuclear arms race—be instituted in schools on the state level. In California, ESR members have lobbied so effectively against the Federal Emergency Management Agency's nuclear disaster preparedness curriculum that eight school districts rejected the material.

On the East Coast, the New York City chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) successfully organized local hospitals to reject the Pentagon's hospital emergency plan for coping with a nuclear war in Europe. Members of the Lawyers Committee for Nuclear Policy drafted the resolution to make Cambridge, Massachusetts, a nuclear free zone; they also have provided legal aid for defendants arrested for acts of civil disobedience. High Technology Professionals for Peace in Cambridge runs an employment agency for defense industry workers who want to leave their jobs. And last year six members of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War—three Americans and three Russians—discussed nuclear war on television in the Soviet Union and the United States.

Professional groups have effectively targeted, and utilized, their particular constituencies. For the past year, there has been growing cooperation among the groups, and now some are considering forming formal coalitions. Will they be more effective in combination than on their own?

"I think that all the groups coming together is really working," says an ebullient Tony Wagner, a former English teacher and now executive director of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) in Cambridge. "This could be a time of real in-fighting—a struggle for money and funding—but instead what we have is cooperation. And what an integration of skills!"

This November, ESR, with five other professional groups, will be sponsoring a week-long forum of nuclear education at over 500 college and high school campuses nationwide. "There is strength in having separate organizations," Alan Sherr of the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC), one of those groups, says. "Lawyers are probably more responsive to other lawyers. But when it comes to education, we encourage cooperation."



Doctors on parade: World-wide appeal

PSR is "very inclined" toward working in coalitions, says Jane Wales, executive director of the group. "It's important to cross professional lines to get to the public-at-large," Wales says. "You create a larger scope." This summer, in a significant move, PSR and other professional groups—among them the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), ESR, and LANAC—are exploring the possibility of working together in the legislative arena.

Other professionals, though, caution against too much togetherness. "Business groups are in a class by themselves," says Stephen Coleman of Business Executives for National Security (BENS) in Washington, D.C., a national group with 600 members. "We have to be sensitive to the fact that business groups don't want to feel that they're part and parcel of the peace movement." Coleman notes that Bernard J. O'Keefe's *Nuclear Hostages*—a book that calls for Soviet-U.S. economic cooperation as a first step toward reversing the arms race—will probably do more to influence the business community's nuclear perspective than any type of coalition effort. (O'Keefe is chairman of both the National Association of Manufacturers and EG & G, a major defense contractor.)

By forming coalitions the antinuclear movement will be playing into the government's hands, maintains Sid Gilbert, co-chairman of Architects for Social Responsibility (ASR) in New York. "If this grass-roots effort bureaucratizes into one movement, it's dead," he warns. "The only thing the government *can* fight is an organized movement. The reason why the Defense Department is so successful is that it spreads its systems all over the place. This is one area where we should follow their example."

CALDICOTT EXITS

During the Carter administration, Jane Wales, the articulate, animated director of PSR, was the deputy assistant secretary of state for public affairs and a member of the White House staff. She is so thoroughly at home on Capitol Hill that she maintains a PSR office there in addition to the home office in Cambridge, located above a Woolworth's store in a three-story brick building on Massachusetts Avenue that houses several other antinuclear organizations. PSR's current tax-exempt status limits the group's lobbying activities to 20 percent of its overall effort, but Wales' political savvy will not be wasted in her current job.

"During the House vote on the freeze, we had medical school deans calling congressmen," Wales says. "I think a lot of them answered the calls out of curiosity—'What could a medical school dean want with *me*?' If the timetable works out, we'll be organizing a professionals' lobby day in the Senate for the freeze. I want to involve the clergy as well as physicians and other professionals—get a

PHOTOS BY STEVEN BORNS

good mix of white coats and white collars."

PSR has come a long way. Formed in 1960 by Boston doctors concerned about the Cold War, the organization languished in the 1970s. It wasn't until 1979, with the arrival of a doctor from Australia, Helen Caldicott, that PSR revived to become what other groups consider the "model" professional antinuclear organization. With a current budget of $1.1 million and 22,000 members, PSR is providing a blueprint for success for the dozens of other professional groups that have emerged in the last two years.

However, Caldicott's recent resignation as president of PSR (a move prompted by her desire for more involvement in the 1984 elections and PSR's desire to wean itself from Caldicott's powerful image), marks the culmination of months of internal change at the organization. Since last fall, efforts have been made within the group to shift its focus from general consciousness-raising to educating the public about specific national policy solutions.

"It has gone beyond the point where we can not responsibly sound the alarm without prescribing the therapy," Wales says. "We have an obligation to go one step further." And so, while the group will still offer its famous symposia on the horrifying medical effects of nuclear war—called "bombing runs" by the PSR staff—a policy committee was formed eight months ago to examine ways of halting and reversing the arms race.

In January, the committee recommended four positions to PSR's House of Delegates: support for a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze and a comprehensive test ban, and opposition to destabilizing first-strike weapons and civil defense plans against nuclear attack. The four recommendations were immediately ratified, and many PSR symposia now include prescriptions for the prevention of nuclear war.

"Everybody was *that* ready," Wales comments. "It was clear that a lot of people were feeling very held back by our reluctance to take positions. We are free to think in terms of solutions now."

LET'S GET POLITICAL

Besides marshaling support within their own ranks, professional groups are increasingly trying to get mainstream groups to back their cause. Largely because of these efforts, the American Medical Association (AMA) and the American Bar Association (ABA) have, for the first time, added their voices to the nuclear arms debate.

Seven members of the Lawyers Alliance, a national organization with 4000 members, drafted a five-point resolution that was adopted by the ABA in August 1982. The resolution did not call for a nuclear freeze but it did urge the United States to pursue "serious and sustained" negotiations in arms control, and to work to prevent nuclear proliferation.

ASR's Sid Gilbert warns of killing the movement with bureaucracy

"Our members are very well-connected in the ABA," says Alan Sherr in his office at the foot of Boston's Beacon Hill. Sherr, a former assistant attorney general of Massachusetts, now works full-time as president of LANAC. Since many LANAC chapter leaders are presidents or former presidents of their state or local bars, the resolution came to the ABA's national convention with enough support to easily pass the Board of Governors on a voice vote.

But what practical effect can such a resolution have? "It is extremely significant," Sherr contends, "because the ABA—a very respected organization among lawyers—is now formally concerned about nuclear arms. This has given a green light to a lot of the more conservative lawyers to get involved, and perhaps even make the issue a priority." Once lawyers join the Alliance, a range of activities is open to them, from participating in mock negotiations where members form "American" and "Soviet" teams, to organizing letter writing and outreach campaigns.

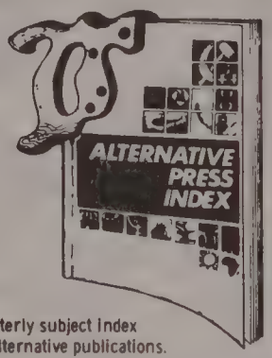
The House of Delegates of the AMA adopted a recommendation in December 1981 to inform the President and Congress of the medical consequences of nuclear war. A year later, the AMA passed a recommendation encouraging the President and Congress to pursue "bilateral and verifiable" nuclear arms reductions. While an AMA spokesman in Chicago is reluctant to give PSR credit for the Association's position, he does concede that "they may have helped focus our attention on the issue." And while the recommendations are cautious, Jane Wales points out that, considering the AMA's conservative background, "these recommendations seem like strong medicine." Wales admits, however, that she "would like to see some *action* taken on them."

Some mainstream professional groups have adopted antinuclear stances without prodding from antinuclear organizations. In February, the American Physical Society, which includes scientists who developed the A-bomb and some who now design H-bombs, issued a call to President Reagan, Congress and Soviet leaders to negotiate seriously and urgently to "reduce significantly the number of weapons and delivery systems . . . to restrict the use and limit the deployment of battlefield and intermediate-range nuclear weapons . . . to prevent the spread of such weapons to outer space" and to ban all testing.

The APS's action, while only symbolic, provoked an angry and emotional response from White House science advisor George Keyworth 2d. Saying that he was shocked at the society's "official" stance on the arms race, Keyworth labeled the group's action "arrogant" and said that it had ignored "the potential breakthroughs in arms reductions that can result from President Reagan's belief that major reductions can best be negotiated from a position of strength."

The National Association of Social Workers (NASW), based in Silver Spring, Maryland, is one of the few mainstream groups that embraces its antinuclear constituents. Social Workers for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament (SWPND) was formed in January 1982 as an official NASW committee and is now a national group with 600 members. At its

Social Change Tool for the 80's



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conference in 1982, the NASW voted to place the freeze at the top of its agenda.

Despite wholehearted support on paper, though, chapters of Social Workers for Peace are struggling for financial support at the national level. But funding problems haven't prevented action. The Massachusetts chapter of SWPND helped organize High-Tech Professionals for Peace. Now it provides counselors at workshops on occupational stress for defense industry workers. "They know how to ask the right questions at the right time without making people defensive," says High Tech's Josie Stein.

One of SWPND's priorities is to highlight the effect of military spending on human services. Social workers in New York and Massachusetts are preparing a paper on military budget implications in their states. And in California, they are working with unions, labor councils, Chicano organizations and black churches to focus on the links between increased military spending and declining social programs.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

For many professional groups, the right name affixed to the bottom of the letter—or, better yet, on the letterhead itself—are as important and effective for their outreach efforts as endorsements by mainstream associations.

A year ago, the Union of Concerned Scientists, a Cambridge-based national organization with over 100,000 contributors (it is not technically a membership organization), promulgated a proposal for a national security policy calling for a no-first-use of nuclear weapons, deep cuts in the nuclear arsenal, joint U.S.-Soviet efforts to halt nuclear proliferation, and a comprehensive test ban. The proposal was endorsed by a majority of all living nobel laureates in science, and by more than a third of the members in the National Academy of Sciences.

"By getting laureates to sign the proposal, we give it credibility and legitimacy," says Eric Van Loon, a lawyer and executive director of UCS, who adds that the group has no plans to seek endorsement from the NAS or any other national science association. "The laureates' signatures—and those of thousands of NAS members—shows that the proposal is not just the brainstorm of a small fringe group of professors off in Cambridge."

UCS's endorsers open doors to areas in government to which most movement groups never gain access. In April, the group's no-first-use proposal was presented at a meeting of high-level State Department officials—called the Secretaries Forum—where it reportedly received some support. "It wasn't rejected out of hand as a Communist-inspired notion," Van Loon notes, "but we're not holding our breath expecting Secretary of State Schultz to announce that it's national policy."

Alan Sherr of LANAC finds that an outreach committee consisting of—among other legal luminaries—four former presidents of the ABA and a former UN ambassador, is particularly helpful in drawing older, established lawyers into the Alliance. Its rate of membership growth, however, dropped off recently as LANAC reached out to the South and Midwest. "There's less of an immediate payoff there than on the coasts," says Sherr. "But getting a chapter going in North Dakota is worth the extra money and time it takes."

UCS/LANAC/ESR/PSR strategy session: Bud Ris, Ted Seto, Wagner, Sherr and Wales

Sherr observes that, in addition to lawyers, many older scientists and retired statespeople are lending their names—and their time—to the antinuclear cause. "Maybe it's because they're not caught up in making their careers—they have the time to begin to think in terms of the greater good," Sherr says.

Architects for Social Responsibility taps into the mainstream both through its 200 members, many of whom are leaders in the profession, and, just as critically, through their clients. "The American Institute of Architects endorsed a disarmament resolution a year ago, but it's the individual, personal reaction that counts," says Sid Gilbert. "Architects deal with the high and mighty—we *plan* for them—and they respond to us. If we can get through to these people over dinner, then that's where the progress really begins.

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War is not only reaching out to doctors all over the world, but is taking its message to mainstream U.S. organizations as well. In February, the secretary of IPPNW spoke at the American Legion's 30th Annual Convention in Washington, D.C., and urged the Legion to send a delegation to the Soviet Union (or invite Soviet veterans to the United States) to discuss ways to halt the arms race.

PHOTO BY JOHN HARVI

The Soviet physician Evgeny Chazov, who along with Dr. Bernard Lown of the United States founded IPPNW, contributed an antinuclear article to *The Rotarian*, a magazine distributed to more than 900,000 members of Rotary International, an organization with quite a conservative image. And in June, Lown delivered a keynote address on nuclear war to the 74th Annual Convention of Rotary International in Toronto, Canada.

But converting mainstream institutions to antinuclear policies may not be a particularly "cost-effective" use of energy, according to John Graham, president of the recently formed Business for Social Responsibility (BSR), one of a growing national network of antinuclear business groups. "The nuclear situation is so big and so frightening," says Graham, a former State Department official who once planned nuclear war for NATO, "it takes a pretty significant personal decision on the part of each one of us to involve ourselves. Institutionalizing the issue is fine, but it means very little without that critical assumption of personal responsibility by thousands of people.

"Once we get the business community organized," Graham predicts, "we'll probably have the most potent political force in the country. All that power. All those *connections*." For example, Graham says, "businessmen can band together and go to their congressman or the Pentagon and say, 'Look, we represent *this* amount of political power and we're questioning this defense plan and we want something *done* about it.'"

THE WORLD VIEW

While it would seem that internal organizing, outreach campaigns, coalition efforts and attempts to politicize mainstream America are enough to keep professional groups thoroughly occupied, a final thread of concern common to several groups is making contact with peers in other countries—particularly the Soviet Union.

"It is absolutely essential that we find ways of cross-identifying with the Russians," says Dr. Gerald Gargiulo of the Union of Concerned Psychoanalysts and Psychotherapists in New York City. "We have to stop seeing the Russians through the eyeglasses of ideology." LANAC is sending a delegation of American lawyers to the Soviet Union for an exchange of negotiating ideas. Steven Coleman of Business Executives says that "the debt in this country is intertwined with the world debt. We have to begin to recognize the effect that our military spending is having on world security." Coleman would like to see a meeting between U.S. business leaders and Soviet industrialists and economists.

The Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, which downplays LANAC's emphasis on arms control negotiations in favor of the stance that nuclear weapons are not only unconstitutional but illegal under international law, is sponsoring a major conference in early 1984 to discuss that issue with lawyers from the Soviet Union, France and England. In the meantime, "we will keep raising the question in litigation contexts," says the group's president Peter Weiss. Attempts to introduce the "illegal" issue at the Trident Nein trial in Connecticut and at the Plowshares trials in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, however, were dismissed by judges as irrelevant.

In late June International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held its third congress in the Netherlands, which was attended by over 200 delegates from 40 countries. In public letters to Yuri Andropov and Ronald Reagan, IPPNW called for all nuclear powers to adopt a no-first-use policy, to negotiate a verifiable freeze to be followed by reductions, and to pursue comprehensive test ban negotiations. In a symbolic gesture, IPPNW proposed a change in the Hippocratic oath to include the phrase "I will do all in my power to work against nuclear war." It will be up to individual medical schools to decide whether or not to adopt the addendum.

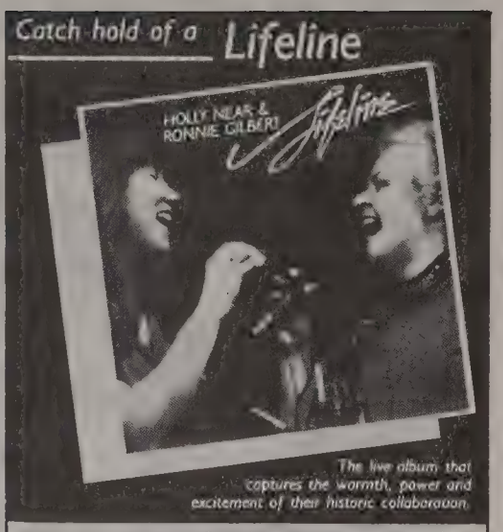
The IPPNW Congress prompted salutory messages from Reagan, Andropov and Pope John Paul II. "This recognition by world leaders shows that the movement has become so large and so significant that it can no longer be ignored," says IPPNW's Joseph Goodman.

PROS & CONS

With their varied skills, expertise and divergent perspectives, professional groups have made valuable contributions to the antinuclear movement. Some are now forming coalitions and thinking about playing legislative "hardball." But can professional groups rouse mainstream organizations past symbolic resolutions to action? Can they really go far beyond a basic self-education function? As they continue to grow and combine forces, will they bog down in the very bureaucracy they so strongly oppose? And exactly *how* can they affect public policy?

"Let's face it," says Sid Gilbert of Architects for Social Responsibility, "the real power of this movement is in *little* bites." But what PSR, the groundbreaking professional group, has apparently realized, and acted upon, may provide a lesson for other white-collar organizations. In the months ahead, those "bites" will have to grow bigger, and be strategically placed, if the antinuclear movement is to win many victories that are more than symbolic.

—Renata Rizzo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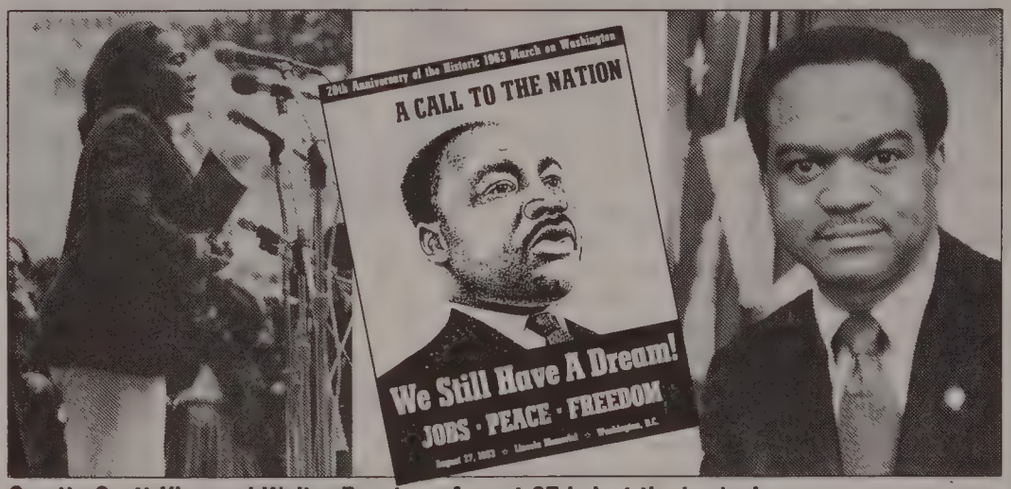
COALITION-BUILDING I

Will King March Bridge Gaps?



Coretta Scott King and Walter Fauntroy: August 27 is just the beginning

Two decades ago the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. stood in front of the Lincoln Memorial and offered his dream of a just society to the hundreds of thousands who assembled for the March on Washington. On August 27, in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of King's speech, the mall will again be full of demonstrators repeating the cry for jobs and freedom. But this time a third demand has been added—peace—as march organizers try to unite the civil rights, labor and peace movements into a single coalition.

The mass of demonstrators, who will arrive by the busload from all parts of the country, will create what march organizers hope will be the "New Coalition of Conscience." And the march, which will focus on the links between the issues of jobs, peace and freedom, is meant to be the launching point of this new, ambitious coalition.

But while the march has been widely supported by antinuclear, labor, civil rights, women's rights and environmental groups—with most urging their members to attend—it has had its share of snags, according to peace movement activists working with the Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization, the organizing body for the march. The Mobilization, initiated by Coretta Scott King and Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has received endorsements from over 600 groups and has set up more than 300 chapters across the country. But on a national level, says Simeon White, associate coordinator of the American Friends Service Committee's disarmament/peace conversion program, "organizationally things are going slow."

Walter Fauntroy, national director of the march, who represents the District of Columbia in Congress, denies that there have been any major problems in organizing the march, but admits that there have been "definite problems with fundraising." In May he sent out a letter to endorsers noting the march's "critical fiscal situation." At the time of the letter, the Mobilization had only raised $20,000 of a needed $750,000. And after several major fundraising events, the march is still in great financial difficulty.

Despite money troubles, march organizers say they have received an enthusiastic response from across the country and anticipate a large turnout for the demonstration (though not as large as the crowd at last year's June 12 rally in New York). But while most peace activists strongly back the protest—Richard Deats, executive director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a convener of the march, calls it "a central event for the peace movement"—some have expressed skepticism concerning the establishment of a functioning national coalition, explaining that for now the coalition exists only on paper.

BUSES & BENEFITS

But the march is inspiring true coalition-building on the local level. In Southern California the Peace with Justice Leadership Conference, which grew out of last year's wildly successful Peace Sunday concert at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, lined up this year's August 14 benefit concert at the Hollywood Bowl. The Conference, says Bob Erlenbusch, one of the organizers of Peace Sunday II, brings 125 different denominations together with labor, peace, community and civil rights groups. In organizing Peace Sunday II to raise both political and financial support for the August 27 march, the coalition worked without problems, according to Erlenbusch. Fifty percent of the funds raised at the concert will be donated to the march.

In Minneapolis, a local coalition is trying to send 30 buses—about 1000 people—to the march. Spike Moss, director of The Way Opportunities Unlimited, a group coordinating march efforts in Minnesota, says that mobilizing for August 27 has given Minnesota peace and jobs groups the opportunity to work with civil rights groups. "Most of them haven't worked with a lot of black groups," he adds. "It's been very relaxed and natural, a positive experience. We're all learning a lot."

And in Philadelphia, Marguerite Morrison, one of the organizers for the local Mobilization, says that a "broad coalition," formed originally through the AFSC and the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, has organized at least 200 buses for the march. "As we go along, we see we can work together," she notes. "Hopefully something will come out of all this."

A SEPARATE PEACE?

But on the national level doubts about the future of the New Coalition remain. "I don't see the Mobilization yet as a body," observes Mark Harrison, human rights and racial justice program coordinator for Clergy and Laity Concerned, which has helped to plan an interfaith religious service at the Convention Center in Washington, D.C., on August 26. The Mobilization, he adds, "is just planning a demonstration. I'm not enthusiastic about anything happening past August 27." Another antinuclear activist calls the New Coalition of Conscience "an ambitious idea, but so thin it won't hold."

One problem may be that the broad coalition encompasses groups that cannot agree on specific political initiatives. For instance, some labor unions involved in the march, according to Fauntroy, are concerned that "the antinuclear, antimilitary spending aspect of the march will be overwhelming and antithetical to

PHOTO (LEFT) BY HAZEL HANKIN

the perceived interests of some labor unions." One union, the United Steelworkers of America, sent out a mailing to its members, asking them to support the march, but abbreviating the demands to jobs and freedom—removing peace. (A union spokesman says this was an "inadvertent omission.") This conflict between some labor elements and the peace movement constituency is most apparent, says Fauntroy, in the attempt by the Mobilization to package peace legislation the coalition can support. Jobs and freedom legislation, embodying the demands of the march, have not posed much difficulty, Fauntroy notes. "The critical test is on the question of peace legislation."

But how effective can this coalition be on military issues, for example, when it contains both the freeze campaign and the AFL-CIO, which does not support the freeze? Fauntroy admits, "It is not a coalition yet." But he adds: "By November 1984 each element of this coalition will recognize that the three issues—peace, jobs and freedom—are interrelated and of equal importance."

Another reason the coalition idea is not being universally embraced is that on a national level the demonstration has been organized primarily by just one of the march's constituency—civil rights organizations. "It has emerged from the black community," says Fauntroy. But because disarmament groups are not integrally involved on the national level, some peace activists working on the march say that it is natural that some within the antinuclear movement are not as enthusiastic about the march or the New Coalition of Conscience as they were about the June 12 rally.

On the other hand, the extent and success of the local organizing around August 27 bodes well for the march. As Nina Streich, a member of the march's publicity committee and an organizer of the June 12 rally, notes, "the grass roots will carry this demonstration, not the national organization." But what will happen after August 27, after the speeches and the music are over? Will each constituency of the march turn back to its own agenda? "August 27 is just the beginning," Fauntroy says. "As a result, I'm hopeful something will start in terms of a meaningful coalition." Whether or not the Mobilization's dream of a grand coalition is realized, the march has already forged links between many activists and organizations. "I've been working with people whom I have not worked with before," says Streich. "That's good—we're coming together." And it is those personal connections—not organizational endorsements that appear on paper—that hold the potential for any true coalition-building. **—David Corn**

COALITION-BUILDING II

The Movement In Black & White

It is common for peace activists of all races to label the antinuclear weapons movement "white, middle-class." In some parts of the country it might be a label worn so naturally that no one even bothers to mention it. But for the movement as a whole, proud of its popular "grass-roots" support, it is often discomforting, at times embarassing, and at the least a sign that it has failed to fully capture the national spirit.

For such a label to fall away, however, the antinuclear movement would almost have to appear in a new incarnation with broad representation from all races and economic classes. The potential for that to happen exists. As freeze campaign minority outreach staffer Patricia Williams says about the freeze, "No other peace group in history has had the advantage of working for an issue that can potentially unite us all."

But Williams acknowledges that finding a common ground has its difficulties. Many people in the movement, she explains, hold that "if you bring in minority support you necessarily change the focus of the freeze movement, and will dilute the issue of the freeze." But it is unrealistic, she believes, to expect blacks and the economically hard-pressed to focus solely on the arms race.

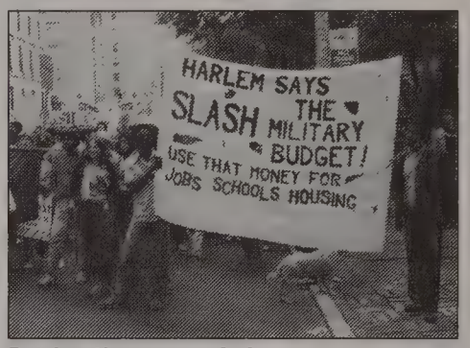
Few black leaders are inclined to put aside what they call "immediate survival" issues in order to accommodate themselves to the overwhelmingly white antinuclear movement. For with the mayoral victories in Chicago and Philadelphia, and a voter registration drive that is expected to turn out 14 million black votes in 1984, black political leaders are confident that they have the ability to marshal what any political movement wants—votes that may mean the margin of success for favored candidates. Antinuclear leaders are aware of this new form of black power, but don't know exactly what to do about it.

"The black vote will be important in 1984," says Ellis Woodward, a spokesman for Ground Zero. "I'm sure we will reach out to the black community. . . . How, I don't know."

"PEACE IS A BROAD TERM"

If it can be assumed that a joining of forces is mutually advantageous, what stands in the way?

De facto segregation, for one thing, in the view of many black and white activists alike. Blacks comprise only a tiny fraction of those active in the antinuclear movement, and make up an even smaller portion of its leadership. While few examples of overt racism have been cited, the movement perfectly reflects the still-segregated nature of much of American society. "We are brought up in a segregated way," says Jackie Gelb of Mobilization for Survival, "and the general society is reflected in all of our political movements."



Raising the economic issues

Class differences compound this problem, attest Brenda and Gregory Johnson, a husband-and-wife team in Washington, D.C., who run the organization Blacks Against Nukes (BAN). Although BAN is very active, the couple does little work with other antinuclear groups. Brenda Johnson calls the mainstream peace organization meetings she's attended—"with literature footnoted 15 times"—a "turn-off." This is a problem not exclusive to BAN, of course, but indicative of a general problem in reaching working-class people. Another revealing problem: Brenda complains that meetings in the peace community are frequently called at such hours as 10 a.m., when neither she, her husband, nor most people with inflexible shift schedules, can get away from work.

Along with class and racial divisions, the strongest barrier preventing a truly representative movement is the one between those who advocate using the antinuclear issue as a means of uniting the historically-parallel social justice and peace campaigns, and those who feel that the antinuclear movement must maintain a clear focus on specific goals related to weapons, such as stopping the MX or preventing deployment of the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles.

The success of the freeze, for instance, has often been attributed to its single, specific objective that can be easily understood and supported. Arguing for more of a multi-issue approach, David Cortright, executive director of SANE, has said: "All of us talk about the need for

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

outreach to women, minorities and labor. We cannot expect the involvement of these people, however, unless we show interest in their concerns for economic survival and social justice."

Rev. Mitchell links issues of survival

In movement shorthand: Should the "single-issue" approach be strengthened or abandoned? And does the leadership of the antinuclear movement really want to participate in (or even see the need for) a broader social movement? These are issues that are both tactical and ideological.

The issues are reflected in a struggle for definition. While some activists refer to the "antinuclear movement," others see themselves as part of the "peace movement." The latter can cover much more ground, including opposition to conventional weapons and U.S. interventionism, and support for all forms of "social justice." As Patricia Williams says: "For most black people 'peace' is a very broad term, much broader than the freeze."

Or, as Tony Watkins, disarmament coordinator for Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) puts it: "Millions are being diverted from the mouths of children to feed the Pentagon, and if that's not a struggle for peace, I don't know what is."

Blacks would like white peace groups to pay more attention to international issues, such as our country's support for South Africa's nuclear policies. But the economic issue, referred to by Tony Watkins, has the most potential for attracting blacks to antinuclear weapons groups. Consistent leadership on this issue is already provided, Watkins says, by members of the Congressional Black Caucus, such as Representative Ronald Dellums, who is introducing an "alternative" military budget bill, H.R. 3023, that proposes cuts of $25 billion. While some antinuclear groups have used the economic impact of the arms race as an argument against the nuclear buildup, many blacks feel the issue has not been stressed strongly enough.

Representatives of some antinuclear groups argue that it is not fair to say that the economic impact issue has not been given wide attention. Richard Healey of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy says that while recruitment of a greater minority constituency is "not an express goal," it is "implicit" in the group's linking of military budget increases to social problems. Jobs with Peace has accented employment and economic concerns. And the freeze, earlier this year, formed an Economic Issues Task Force which helped produce the useful handbook, *The Freeze Economy*.

But some claim that the antinuclear forces can only go so far in the economic direction. Ground Zero's Woodward says this is because—with most labor unions and members of congress still supporting massive military spending—it is hard to attack the Pentagon, *per se*. Trying to expand the base of the movement in this way, he argues, can confuse—and actually lead to a loss in support from—those whose opposition to nuclear weapons has *nothing* to do with economics.

Sala Abdul Rajeem, a former legislative assistant at Transafrica, a lobbying group in Washington, D.C., responds to Woodward's point this way: "It depends how the base is defined. If you define your base as people to whom a number of other issues are not of crucial importance, then you shouldn't complain about the absence of black participation."

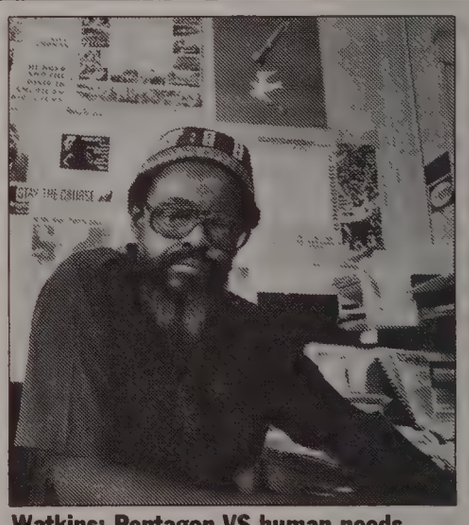
But is there no middle ground where people who are primarily concerned with the nuclear threat can meet those most affected by immediate social and economic problems? According to Ronald W. Walters, professor of political science at Howard University, "Blacks must take off their blinders, some of which are maintained by our own leadership, and understand that it *is* a black issue to be concerned and active in the preservation of life on this planet. The survival agenda of the black community must strike a balance between immediate survival and those issues which affect the survival of the human race. One cannot be substituted for another and, if addressed properly, they can be mutually supportable."

RELIGIOUS GROUPS LEAD THE WAY

While the antinuclear leadership is anxious to be credited for their work on economic issues, they do not deny many inadequacies in dealing with black groups. "We tend to wait to hold meetings with blacks until we are organizing for a particular event or strategy," SANE's Betsy Taylor admits. "If you're going to expect practical assistance you've got to be prepared to give something in return. The peace movement can be faulted for that."

Taylor stresses the need for careful selection of black-white coalition efforts that focus on practical goals. Citing the Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs, on which SANE works, as exceptional—"one of the few working coalitions in town"—Taylor comments that too often black-white participation projects are beset by "lots of rhetorical linkage, lots of grandiose plans, but very little day-to-day fighting together in the political arena."

Considerations of issues and tactics aside, Taylor's observation points to the need for identifying and widening points of entry for minorities and their concerns into the peace movement. Within religious peace groups this process has received more attention, by and large, than from their secular counterparts.



Watkins: Pentagon VS human needs

PHOTOS BY STEVEN BORNS

At CALC, which was founded by the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Tony Watkins notes examples of his organization's attention to minority concerns, which include black leadership in some chapters, the formation of a CALC Third World Caucus and the organization's work on getting passed a freeze campaign statement against nuclear collaboration with South Africa. Another religious organization, the National Council of Churches, sponsored Peace With Justice Week last May, a nationwide educational effort to link the campaign for peace to that of social justice.

The Washington Office on Africa this year launched a campaign to halt U.S.-

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South Africa nuclear collaboration. It has published a pamphlet entitled "Stop The Apartheid Bomb!" which has sold, according to network organizer Nkechi Taifa, 25,000 copies and is beginning a fourth printing. Taifa, who calls the apartheid-nuclear link "an excellent vehicle for coalition-building," identifies religious groups as the strongest market for the pamphlet.

One of the most concerted efforts by a religious group to become more involved with minority groups and their concerns has come from the Religious Task Force of Mobilization for Survival in Brooklyn. The Task Force, a coalition of 60 national religious organizations, first began what its director, Paul Mayer, calls "overtures to the black community" in 1978. Mayer often met with Timothy Mitchell, pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Queens, and chairman of the board of the National Conference of Black Christians, an organization of 300 pastors from across the country who endorse what Mitchell terms a "black power and liberation theology."

Mitchell, who in 1961 rode buses and was jailed with Martin Luther King Jr. in Albany, Georgia, was initially unsure about working with the Religious Task Force. "At first I wanted to walk out of the room," Mitchell says, "because the issues discussed seemed so removed from the day-to-day struggles for existence among blacks."

But his attitude changed during the UN special session on disarmament in 1978. "The relevance of the nuclear arms race," Mitchell says, "was graphically pointed out by having people from all over the world go to the South Bronx. . . . A Japanese woman said no place reminded her more of Hiroshima immediately after the Bomb was dropped. . . . It was a case of long-term deterioration versus a catastrophic and instantaneous explosion. Both as devastating, both racist."

From that "Witness For Survival" at Charlotte Street in the South Bronx, Mayer and Mitchell began to gradually build an informal working relationship. After the 1982 special session at the UN, Mayer says that from an initiative by members of the National Conference of Black Christians, who voted to work formally with the Religious Task Force, the Minority Coalition Building Task Force was begun.

Its first project was to organize Martin Luther King Jr. birthday celebrations across the country, with an emphasis, Mayer says, on King's "dream of peace with justice." This initial project immediately introduced the task force to a range of other groups such as *Las Hermanas* and *Los Padres* (national networks of Hispanic nuns and priests), Asian American Caucus for Disarmament, and the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta.

Giving an overview of his work on the Coalition Building Task Force, Mitchell says it is helpful in "conveying a willingness to approach the issue on a partnership level." When Mayer is asked what it takes for whites to work effectively in such a coalition, he replies, "a lot of humility, a willingness to listen and to learn, a willingness to deal with one's own racism—which is built into the psychic structure of white America—and trying to understand the experience of black and poor people, which is different from ours. . . . It is one thing to put names on a letterhead, and another thing to sit down with black and Hispanic folk and, hearing their grief, recognize the priorities of their issues."

ON THE SECULAR SIDE

Of course, many antinuclear activists do not think that social or economic issues take precedence over defusing the threat of nuclear war. Others simply feel it is not politically practical to broaden the anti-weapons focus. Those organizations that do have minority outreach and coalition-building on their agenda may not make it a top priority.

But within a number of secular peace

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organizations there are ongoing efforts to link the antinuclear issue to the concerns of people of color both in the United States and abroad.

At the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, for instance, program coordinator Lorenda Fambro says that WILPF is planning a tour of "war zones"—South Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Central America and some urban areas of the United States—in order to learn the effects of U.S. interventionism on local people, particularly Third World women. In WILPF's *Peace & Freedom* magazine there is a regular "On Racism" column. And as a representative of WILPF, Fambro joined the Third World Women's Caucus for the planning of the peace encampment at the Seneca Army Depot in Romulus, New York. The Caucus is planning, on August 19, a march along the underground railroad route walked by Harriet Tubman in the area of the women's encampment.

In order to facilitate the participation of blacks in the antinuclear weapons movement, Search For Common Ground (formerly Nuclear Network) in Washington, D.C., launched its Black Participation Project in July, 1982.

Marianne Josem, a staff worker formerly with Search For Common Ground, came up with the idea for the project. Although a novice to the "new" peace movement, she immediately noticed something disturbing: "I was attending meetings about the nuclear threat in Washington and it struck me that there were no black faces, which seemed strange given that the city is predominantly black." Together with Common Ground director John Marks, Josem handed the project over to two former Carter White House aides, Larry Bailey and Judy Pennington. Now, a year later, the project has separated from Common Ground and is run solely by Bailey and Pennington.

According to the project directors, its major success to date has not been in inspiring peace groups to reach out to the black community but in catalyzing interest in the antinuclear issue among fairly traditional black organizations.

The pair began the project by visiting black political leaders in a handful of cities—Atlanta, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles—to assess the level of interest in the issue in the minority community. In Detroit, Bailey and Pennington found their greatest encouragement. "In areas with 45 percent unemployment," Bailey says, "we were prepared to find disinterest in any issue that was not immediately identified as an economic issue. Instead we found people who were in touch with the impact of the nuclear budget on the job market." Pennington adds, "It was the first city that signaled a tremendous amount of hope and opportunity for black participation."

Williams: The freeze works on issues that can potentially unite us all

In cooperation with an established community organization in Detroit, the Concerned Citizens Council, Bailey and Pennington will begin testing their pilot project this month—a series of public service announcements on black radio stations that will carry an antinuclear message and be keyed to special events in the black community. The spots, produced by a black-owned public relations firm in Atlanta, will also be available for use with peace group media events such as Ground Zero's *Firebreaks* game. If the project does well it is scheduled to travel to other cities such as Birmingham, Newark, Gary and Oakland.

Although most black leaders have been highly receptive, Los Angeles Councilman Robert Farrell raised what Bailey calls "the first set of hostile issues." According to Bailey, Farrell asked, "Why at this stage of the game, at the eleventh hour, are whites coming to the black community?" Pennington picks up the story: "We spent a lot of time arguing with him, saying in fact that it wasn't the eleventh hour, that it was the first half hour."

But now a year later both Bailey and Pennington seem to share some of Farrell's suspicions. After meeting with leaders of a number of antinuclear organizations such as SANE, the freeze, and Physicians for Social Responsibility, Bailey and Pennington got an idea of the possible points of entry for blacks into the organizations. The problem of entry points is something that Pennington identifies as the leading reason why more blacks are not involved in the movement. To date, however, the project has not made many inroads among peace organizations.

With the exception of SANE and the freeze, Pennington says, "I'm willing to say that from my point of view right now, white groups have paid lip service only." Pennington says that when she or Bailey offer names of people to provide greater representation of blacks on staffs and governing boards, or try to arrange meetings between peace groups and black organizations, nothing happens.

Speaking as a matchmaker, Pennington says that the problem is that initially it seems there are two sides that want to get together, but then it turns out one side is not in earnest and "the marriage is never consummated." The effect of such experiences, says Pennington, is "the feeling of being jilted." The comment from white groups that they don't know *how* to get greater minority involvement is now "not appropriate," she argues. Eventually, Pennington warns, the inability to "matchmake" may lead to separate peace movements, one black, one white. (A black peace organization, begun in February, is already well-known among black activists. Tony Watkins describes the group, named the Black American Network for Disarmament, Peace and Justice, as comprised of "representatives from over 100 black organizations who have worked in the disarmament arena for many years." The group is deflecting press coverage until it becomes more solidified.)

At Physicians for Social Responsibility, one of the groups Bailey and Pennington identified as a "jilter," Abram Claude, associate director, says the recruitment of more minority involvement is, in fact, "a priority." Executive director Jane Wales calls it an "exceedingly high priority." Could be "lip service," but is it? Wales says that PSR has sent out letters to a number of senior black physicians inviting them to join the national advisory board. So far PSR has received two positive responses and Wales expects to receive more.

To Bailey and Pennington's charge that PSR has been unreceptive to the idea of meeting with the leadership of the all-black National Medical Association, Wales says that on the contrary PSR is conducting negotiations with the NMA, but has found making direct contact themselves "more fruitful" than working through the Black Participation Project. When asked about the timing of minority recruitment ("why at this stage of the game?"), Claude asserts that PSR has been "racially conscious all along," but that it is "becoming more feasible as we do more work in the South where there are major black medical schools."

At the least, the alacrity of PSR's re-

PHOTO BY REUBEN MCCORNACK

sponse to questions about minority recruitment indicates that the issue is squarely in front of movement leadership, and for now, the evolution of racially separate peace movements can not be considered a foregone conclusion.

BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

In Washington, D.C., Patricia Williams, who with Carl Lopez in Colorado makes up the freeze's national minority outreach staff, talks of the need for patience. Williams says that she must necessarily move slowly because of the amount of ground work that needs to be done. Williams, who says "there is no magic to doing outreach work," is currently "talking to people and acquainting minority organizations and individuals with the specifics of the freeze." In July and August Williams went to New Orleans to attend the national conventions of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. Williams cites Operation PUSH and the National Conference of Black Mayors as organizations she would like to begin working with since they have already endorsed the freeze. Like Bailey and Pennington, Williams has generally found that "not a lot of convincing is needed."

In talking about the level of minority representation within the freeze, Williams notes that "the freeze is still very white, middle-class." But while Williams feels that "the freeze leadership might not always see things exactly as I do as a black person," she says "they are willing to accept the bottom line of what it takes to make some change." Then she adds, "It doesn't always come as often as I would like to see."

One encouraging sign for coalition-builders was a weekend conference held in early June at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Conference organizer Manning Marable says that it was a historic event for a conference about the arms race to be hosted by a black college. Marable, who says he is "awfully tired of going to meetings where I am the only black in the room," reports that the conference had a racially-diverse attendance of over 225 representatives from various peace and social justice organizations from 18 states and five countries.

One participant, Anna Gyorgy of Critical Mass Energy Project, emphasizes the non-polemical quality of the conference: "People spoke about specific situations that brought the general themes of social justice home—what it means to work with street gangs in Los Angeles, how local organizing against the arms race can be tied in with community struggles around housing, unemployment and poor schools."

But before the movement can really shed its "white, middle-class" label, there must be a coming to grips with the "single issue" dilemma, and discussions must turn into well-integrated actions. This is a transition that may require hours of meetings, speeches and conferences, an endurance of what some will term "lip service" and others "rhetoric." As one peace activist put it, "each time we get together it helps." And those experienced in building coalitions say that it is a gradual process, not anything that happens overnight.

The unification of the peace and social justice movements is the stuff of dreams. This year, more than any other time over the last two decades, the memory, teachings, and "I Have A Dream" speech of Martin Luther King Jr. are being revived. At no better time could it happen for the coalition-builders in the country. For increasingly King, who courageously campaigned against the Vietnam War in the months before he died, is being remembered as a martyr not only for the struggle for black freedom but also for the struggle to bring together the causes of civil rights and peace. Crossing over schisms of mistrust takes time, but as one Fisk Conference attendee said, in comparison to what we're up against "the divisions between us are so small."

—Corinna Gardner

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Government by the People

A Movement in Search of Leaders

What can the people do when their government rejects all pleas for nuclear sanity? Our bipartisan administration has no will for peace, nor has any administration, Democratic or Republican, in decades. The military-industrial establishment is in charge, masters at the game of politicking, and it regularly overrides public opinion.

We only assume that government responds to public pressure. Of course politicians want our votes, but their very careers depend on party support. They dare not defy their big-money backers, though we write and write.

Couldn't the people do better than the politicans on most issues — if we had any power? Among us we have more than enough ability, but we've never tried anything really basic, or had such urgent cause.

Our country needs a strong opposition party, with power to nominate and elect officials to represent our needs—power to defeat the warmongers and other exploiters. This could be the breakthrough we've been looking for.

The new party could nominate for president a peacemaker like George Kennan-a candidate who would never be accepted by the Dem/Rep establishment. The new Congress could refuse funding for armaments and other boondoggles; it could refuse the special favors that giant corporations have come to expect, so there need be no question of nationalization. In fact, plain common sense could solve most issues if it weren't for big-money politics and the general awe of officialdom.

The Political Machine

We lost our long campaign against MX. The House democrats who voted the funds explained that they couldn't expect party support for 1984 if they opposed MX now. We may blame PACs or the "imperial presidency," but it comes back to big-money politics. It's Big Business that profits from nuclear subsidies and military contracts. It's Big Biz that lobbies appropriations through Congress and regularly defeats any liberal measures. And it's Big Biz (practically inseparable from the Dem/Rep political machine) that fills up our ballots with its yes-men and decides important issues backstage, before we even hear of them. It targets incumbents it can't dominate, and only those who capitulate keep their seats, as Alan Cranston did in 1980 with his TV support for increased military spending. What a powerful tool for controlling decision-makers at all levels of government!

The mere existence of an alternative party could free responsible legislators, even mid-term, from such control. Manipulation of elections depends on a two-party monopoly of the nomination privilege. A third party could break up the racket by nominating and supporting strong competing candidates. **We can't dislodge big money from its domination over the two old parties, but we can offer the country something better: a new party that represents the people and responds to their needs.** We can limit the power of the giant corporations by weakening their political tool.

It all starts with the nominations. Here, at the start, is our only entree to the electoral process — our one opportunity to claim the representation we need. **The nomination prerogative is the key to political power.* If we use it effectively we can put big money out of our government by putting in enough unbought officials to shift the majorities in the people's favor.** But we can't use that key until we create our own Grassroots Party, with the right to put the people's unbought candidates on our ballots. Our majority of votes is of little use unless our ballots offer candidates worth voting for. "Splitting the vote" needn't be an issue, because both democrats and republicans take instructions from the

Principles for a Grassroots Party

- Action must be based in a great grassroots movement, growing from disillusionment and need—a movement with the dedication we give to our special causes, big enough to represent all kinds of people and every honest cause, broad and solid enough so that no extremist fraction can dominate.
- The party must not be organized from the top *or* around a preselected presidential candidate.
- It must select candidates to represent many different groups. It must nominate and support hundreds of them, for both houses of Congress and for state and local offices.
- Its platform must be a clear and simple commitment to peace and human rights, based on justice and common sense. Each decision must be made democratically, by the people's Congress.
- Organization and fundraising must be minimal. We need a clean break from old notions about politics. A people's movement.

This must be a new kind of party, not to be judged by past failures and surely not to be rejected automatically with the old "can't win" alibi. We must start big, with enough faith in our cause to make it work.

*The key power of nomination was an insight of the late congresswoman Jeannette Rankin.

same big-money interests. We switch parties in our search for change, but neither party has given us any acceptable solutions. Jimmy Carter started with an antinuclear program, but he weakened under political pressure, even before election time.

Yes, we "elected" Ronald Reagan, but *we did not nominate him.* Surely we can run a more significant campaign and do better than his 27%.

Simplistic? Perhaps, but basically realistic and desperately needed. We're in big trouble, and it's very, very late. **How can we solve any problem without correcting the cause—the two-party machine and the power of the military-industrial establishment?**

Our few independent legislators are regularly outvoted. If we manage to elect "a good freshman class," few of its members survive the next primary. It will take a new party—a Grassroots Party—to make this fundamental change.

Solutions for our problems "must come out in the form of political power exercised by an aroused people who insist on taking their lives back into their own hands."

—George Wald

Campaign Tactics

The great power of the people could have significant influence if only we would get together — Labor, public-interest organizations, blacks, women, antinuclear groups, and all the others.

We can be a force to reckon with if we focus our energies on the main issue. None of us can go very far alone, but there are millions who share similar problems and can contribute priceless effort, talents, ideas, enthusiasm, and new contacts. Whatever our cause, we all need a government that listens to its citizens and makes common-sense decisions.

Those who control the nominations can dominate the government, and our nation might be ruled by common sense rather than by privilege. We need leaders to show disillusioned thousands that responsible government could be within their reach through the key power of the nomination.

We have already accomplished wonders. We've been doing an impressive job for years, but we've taken on an impossible assignment: facing industry's giants with our simple truths. **We still hope, but we never quite succeed. How can we win a whole nation by separating groups and issues that are so basically interconnected?** See how the great corporations stick together.

How to tell our prestigious organizations that they squander our dedicated efforts on crisis after crisis? These campaigns only divert us from the underlying problem. We should be using our energies and our zeal to win new power for all our causes.

Our organizations have taken on a great leadership responsibility. We trust them and follow readily, but a fresh perspective on the national scene would show that they have little influence over official policies. **They lack the first prerequisite for any real success — political power.** Yet we could have that power if we would focus our collective efforts, *ad hoc,* on building the political base we all need-a great Grassroots Party. Now, while people are seeking solutions, let's involve them in tangible and creative action—circulating new-party petitions. We're experienced with petitions. They're a great way to reach people, everywhere.

There's no need and no time for much organizing. Some states have early primaries and most have stiff election codes. If we get busy now, we can just meet deadlines for qualifying the new party. A race with time can add excitment to our movement. Time enough to organize when we really have a party!

Any small group could start a campaign, with concurrent actions:

- Arrange for drafting and printing legally valid petitions to meet the special requirements of each state.
- Arrange for at least one distribution point in each state.
- Publicize the need for a Grassroots Party— immediately— at every rally and gathering, large or small. Share meetings already scheduled. Spread the fire of renewed hope.
- Try to revive student activism and leadership with this dynamic new idea.

What is anyone actually doing to take the profit out of militarism?

I hope and trust that a number of leaders will bring their organizations and branches and networks into a supermovement to gain the clout that not even our coalitions can quite muster. They could rise to new levels of leadership and influence. They could provide some very fine candidates, to publicize their special issues in the campaign forum and to represent their interests in the government.

I hope and trust that some of our influential speakers will find a Grassroots Party so urgent and so feasible that they will help promote it-soon and convincingly.

A few respectd members of Congress could boost the petition drives by announcing their candidacy on the Grassroots ticket. This could be an opportunity for Ronald Dellums (already targeted with a blatant smear) and for other targets, past and present.

But first some group must start the petitions. We can't give up without even trying.

If you can lead, please write or phone:

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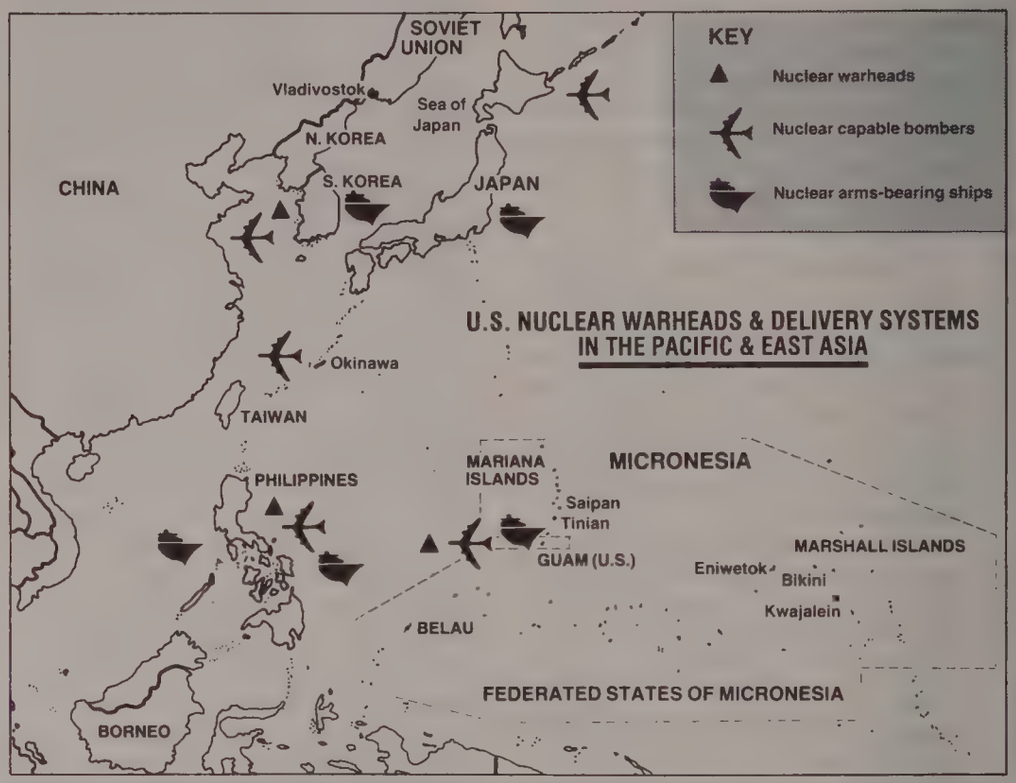
ARMS ACROSS THE OCEAN

The "Hidden" Weapons Race

The Soviet Union's foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko, defended the presence of medium-range missiles in the eastern half of the Soviet Union last April by asserting that the region was surrounded by U.S. nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean and South Korea, among other areas. In its commentary the next day, *The Washington Post* termed Gromyko's argument "new." Like most of the news media in this country, the *Post* generally views tactical nuclear arms issues in terms of Europe only. But as members of the movement to build a nuclear-free and independent Pacific have known for years *(see sidebar, following page)*, the network of bases, task forces and communications systems that stretches from the West Coast across the waters to Hawaii, Micronesia and Guam, northwest to Japan and South Korea and southwest to the Philippines, Australia and the Indian Ocean, is at the core of U.S. nuclear war strategy.

Expanded this year into a Pacific Command (PACOM) covering East Asia and the Pacific, with headquarters in Hawaii, and Central Command (CENTCOM) covering Southwest Asia and the Indian Ocean, this network keeps watch over two of the most likely "flashpoints" of superpower confrontation: the Persian Gulf region and Korea. Both commands are now being reinforced, with nuclear weapons as main components.

"There has been a dearth of major media attention on the Pacific," says Barbara Glendon, consultant to the ecumenical Focus on Micronesia coalition, "even though it is just as important to us strategically [as Europe], especially when you consider how much trade we do through the Pacific and Indian Oceans." The American media conveys every suspicion of Soviet violations of SALT II and the siting of new SS-20s, but says little, for example, about the equipping of B-52s on Guam with nuclear attack missiles, or about the building of new facilities for nuclear submarines, B-52s and nuclear warheads at the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean.



The map indicates both stored and deployed warheads. Not included on this map are large stockpiles of nuclear weapons in Hawaii.

KEEPING WARHEADS AFLOAT

A just-completed study, *Pacific Command: The Structure and Strategy of the U.S. Military in the Pacific* by Walden Bello, Peter Hayes and Lyuba Zarsky describes each major U.S. facility in the region and the long history and rationale behind PACOM. (It is available from Nautilus Research, PO Box 228, Leverett, MA 01054, for $10.) The report states that since the end of World War II "U.S. military hammer blows have landed not in Europe, where demarcation lines between East and West have held firm, but in Asia [and the] Pacific." The region has also been the site of the only actual, and at least five threatened, U.S. nuclear bombings.

The eastern and southern parts of the Pacific are firmly under the control of the U.S. Third and Seventh Fleets (respectively) and their associated aircraft squadrons. Research by William Arkin of the Institute for Policy Studies indicates that there are about 2000 nuclear warheads allocated to PACOM. According to Arkin, the PACOM fleet includes six aircraft carriers with their air wings, 89 surface combatant ships and 44 attack submarines (plus three new Trident submarines based in the state of Washington). Counting the warheads carried at sea at any one moment is more difficult than counting missiles silos, but the Center for Defense Information has estimated that 70 percent of the ships in the Pacific fleet carry nuclear weapons.

Among the new additions to PACOM, according to the *Pacific Command* study, are the assignment to the Seventh Fleet of the Tomahawk cruise missile-firing battleships U.S.S. *New Jersey* and the newest nuclear-capable carrier U.S.S. *Carl Vinson*. Two new wings of nuclear-capable F-16 fighter-bombers will be based in Suwon, South Korea, and Misawa, Japan, by 1984, making it possible for the first time to bomb Soviet land targets in the region. The U.S. infantry in Korea will be receiving neutron weapons. Nuclear short-range attack missiles (SRAMs) will be fitted onto B-52s on Guam next year and, in combination with the cruise missiles and other nuclear weapons that the bombers also carry, give considerable versatility in bombing strategy. Congress has approved funds to lease land for military uses on Tinian, where there are long airstrips suitable for bombers (it is from Tinian that the B-29s that bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki took off). The future also promises new Trident submarines, major increases in anti-submarine forces, and 26 more F-16s at Misawa by 1989.

MAP BY VIKKI LEIB

Meanwhile, large facilities in Guam, Hawaii and the Philippines will continue to supply forward-deployed forces with a wide range of nuclear warheads and the C^3I communication and intelligence systems—the "nervous system" of the nuclear arms command—is undergoing extensive upgrading.

TILTING WITH THE SOVIETS

Despite the installation of over 100 SS-20s in the eastern portion of the Soviet Union, the buildup of the Soviet fleet in the northwest Pacific and the presence of a new Soviet task force based in Vietnam, many analysts, including former Defense Secretary Harold Brown, think the United States has attained superiority in this region. This is especially true if one factors in our strengthened Northeast Asian military alliance: the much underrated "Self-Defense Forces" of Japan, to be expanded under pro-military Prime Minister Nakasone, and the strong forces of former General Chun Doo Hwan in South Korea. China may not fit our image of an ally, but its huge army can be depended upon to quickly counter Soviet actions near their long common border. (China also possesses 120 to 145 intermediate-range nuclear missiles, presumably aimed at Russia.)

Now, according to the authors of *Pacific Command*, the United States is shooting for something larger: the ability to launch a strike that would bottle up the Soviet fleet—as well as its Backfire bombers and over 100 missile-firing submarines—before it can pass through the five narrow straits from its main port in Vladivostok to the open sea. This is the main significance of our vastly superior anti-submarine warfare patrols in the area and Nakasone's promise to defend the choke-points that lead from the Sea of Japan to the Pacific with forces taking off from what has become known as his "unsinkable aircraft carrier." As either a first-strike option and/or an action to tie down Soviet resources while a major war is being fought elsewhere, this strategy is consistent with Navy Secretary John Lehman's vow to make the Navy (the dominant arm of PACOM) "visibly offensive in orientation."

THE KOREAN "FLASHPOINT"

South Korea is the most probable nuclear flashpoint in Asia. As William Overholt pointed out in his book, *Asia's Nuclear Future*, a sensitive nuclear tripwire exists near the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea.

Referring to nuclear-capable Army missiles and fighter bombers in South Korea, atomic demolition mines rumored to be buried along the demilitarized zone (DMZ) and the storage of nuclear artillery shells and nuclear bombs around the country, the *Pacific Command* report concludes that the "primary firepower of U.S. ground-troops in South Korea is nuclear." Fifteen thousand of these troops, stationed in the "invasion corridors" between the DMZ and Seoul, would be among the first to encounter an advancing North Korean force. Overholt warned that this "creates tremendous pressure on a U.S. president to use [the nuclear weapons] if faced with rapid capture or destruction of U.S. forces. . . ."

In January 1983, then Army Chief of Staff Edward Meyer unsettled Koreans with the statement: "While using conventional weapons, if need be I would recommend to the [South Korean] and U.S. Presidents the use of nuclear weapons." This year's "Team Spirit" war exercises—the largest in the world, with some 200,000 U.S. and Korean soldiers and considerable naval and air support—involved tactical nuclear warfare practice.

There is little question that the nuclear arms race is going on as feverishly in Asia as in Europe, absent major media coverage. But as *END*, the journal of the European Nuclear Disarmament organization, recently commented to its mainly Western readers: "The Pacific peoples are already fighting [against nuclear weapons] and it is essential that we support them. Not to do so would be to act in the same spirit as our governments—to value the lives of people of Colour less highly than we do the lives of white Westerners."

—Walter Lew

PACIFIC CONCERNS

Islands Find Center Of Resistance

When the Japanese government dispatched scientists to the Mariana Islands to promote plans to dump nuclear waste in the ocean, local leaders there asked for educational materials that would help them argue against the proposal. The Hawaii-based Pacific Concerns Resource Center (PCRC) compiled and distributed the available information and the popular opposition that ensued became one of the reasons why the Japanese shelved the proposal. And earlier this year in Belau, when the grass-roots antinuclear and independence movement needed more international support, PCRC organized a speaking tour and campaign of letters, pamphlets and phone calls to the State Department and Congress that brought attention to U.S. attempts to maneuver around Belau's constitutional ban on nuclear materials. Last month in Vanuatu, PCRC organized the Fourth Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference, with representatives from two dozen countries.

"The fact that U.S. government officials have said that they must do everything in their power to counter the movement for a nuclear-free Pacific must say something about how well-organized we are," says Giff Johnson, one of three PCRC staff members and a leading Pacific activist. The PCRC network now includes affiliated offices in California, Vanuatu, Australia, New Zealand and Belau. It was originally formed in 1980 at the third Nuclear Free Pacific Conference when the delegates from 20 Pacific countries agreed they needed a center that would provide resources for the entire region and publicize the resolutions they passed. Since then PCRC has produced an impressive series of papers, newsletters, books and slide presentations on topics ranging from U.S. missile testing programs in the Kwajalein atoll to women's and independence issues. It regularly feeds information to the mass media and 1500 organizations, two-thirds of them outside of the Pacific. Partially because of these activities, says Johnson, the islands "have lost their isolation and can no longer be easily manipulated by governmental agencies or foreign powers hidden from international scrutiny."

Throughout the Pacific, observes Johnson, the islanders now see how the different steps of the nuclear cycle are interrelated. "The entire region is affected today by these issues," he explains. "From the Australian aborigines who are dispossessed of their land by mining companies to the Micronesians and Polynesians affected by nuclear test explosions; from the people of the Marianas fighting against Japanese waste dumping to the Fijians, Tongans and Samoans who don't want to live in an environment polluted by French nuclear testing at Mururoa."

For American disarmament activists, perhaps the most interesting aspect of PCRC's organizing is the way it has not separated nuclear issues from the islanders' attempts to establish new economic and political systems after four centuries of colonization. Belauan activist Bernie Keldermans, for example, explains that at the same time that Belauans are "at the front of the antinuclear battle," they are struggling to keep their own constitution and independence—developing their country along "the ideals of democracy that, ironically, the United States has been teaching us for over 30 years."

—Michel Bongiovani and Walter Lew

Michel Bongiovani is an Australia-based journalist and documentary filmmaker.

BY FRED KAPLAN

Does Midgetman Fall Short?

As each day passes, the deal struck by the Aspin-Gore gang over the fate of the MX missile looks more and more fatuous.

This deal was the grand bargain negotiated last May between President Reagan and a group of congressmen normally somewhat critical of the Pentagon—led by Les Aspin and Albert Gore Jr.—whereby they would convince their Democratic colleagues to give Reagan his MX, if Reagan gave them (1) promises of a more "flexible" stance on arms control and (2) development funds for a new, small, single-warhead missile, which many have dubbed "Midgetman."

The whole point of Midgetman, at least according to an arms-control formula devised by Gore over a year ago, is to move toward a world without MIRVed (multiple warhead) missiles. However, the Aspin-Gore gang seems to have overlooked some rather crucial obstacles. First, Reagan has expressed no sympathy for the de-MIRVing idea and indeed appears to give not a whit about serious arms control agreements with the Russians. A less well-known impediment is that nobody has the foggiest idea just what this Midgetman missile *is*.

One requirement of Midgetman, in the Gore scheme anyway, is mobility. The idea is not only to get rid of MIRVs (which can, theoretically, destroy several fixed targets, such as missile silos, at once), but also to get rid of fixed targets such as missile silos (which can, theoretically, be destroyed). If Midgetman cannot move around, the whole point is eluded.

Yet the Scowcroft report—the document that chartered the "compromise" that the Aspin-Gore gang signed on to—said nothing about how Midgetman should be based. One member of the commission told me, just before the report's release last April, "We've got enough problems figuring out how to base MX."

This vagueness was not without legitimate reason: nobody knows whether Midgetman *can* be mobile in any politically feasible form; and nobody knows how much it will cost in any form.

Ideally, Midgetman would be moved along a network of roads connecting a cluster of military bases. One interesting idea involves putting the small missile (its length will be about 35 feet) in a hardened truck-like transporter called "Armadillo." In the event of an attack warning, claw-like "legs" would spring from Armadillo's body and burrow deeply and firmly into the ground. The combination of the hardened transporter, the burrowing and the mobility would, so goes the theory, protect the missile from attack.

But now the catch: nobody knows whether Armadillo is feasible, whether it would indeed protect the missile from blast, heat and radiation—or protect the highly fragile links connecting the missile with its command-control-communications hook-up.

Aspin (l) and Gore gang up for the MX

If it doesn't work out, Midgetman might have to take to the highways. The Air Force talks about putting the missiles in trucks, manning the trucks with armed security forces, and following them everywhere with escort vehicles for additional protection and for communication. Obviously, many citizens are bound to get somewhat skittish knowing that nuclear-tipped ICBMs are cruising up and down the interstates, subject to possible terrorism, vandalism or road accidents.

Moreover, the Air Force said in July that the Midgetman will cost about $70 billion over 10 years. Now, the Air Force has a great interest in overestimating the price of Midgetman. Its officers have been trying to get the MX for nearly a decade. Many of them view Midgetman as a hostile competitor for scarce resources. They want to make it look as expensive and impractical as possible in the hopes that the politicians will give up on it.

This hostile attitude is, no doubt, reinforced by the fact that the Midgetman will be supervised by the Air Force's Ballistic Missile Office in California, which has been managing the MX all these years. Some engineers at BMO are keen on small missiles, but top brass tends not to be. The team working on Midgetman is composed, in large part, of analysts and engineers who have been working on—and who feel an institutional loyalty toward—the MX.

One should, therefore, view early cost estimates somewhat warily. However, one should also view them as boding ill for Midgetman's future. The military services know that long after presidents leave office and congresses adjourn, they—the Air Force, Army and Navy—will still be around. They can bide their time. When they don't want a weapon that is forced upon them, they do their best to kill it or mess it up.

For example, the Air Force never wanted the simple, austere, lightweight F-16 jet fighter, a low-cost competitor to the expensive, complex F-15. When it was forced upon them by James Schlesinger in 1973, they bided their time, waited for another, less demanding secretary of defense to show up, then ginned the plane up, added fancy hardware, and in the end made it as much like the F-15 as they could.

The same sort of thing will happen to Midgetman, if it gets off the drawing boards at all. Already, only weeks into the deal, the Air Force has boosted the proposed weight of the missile from 30,000 pounds to 37,000, and, according to *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, there are plans to increase it to 40,000. And of the $1.6 billion budgeted for the first three years of the program's development, one-third is to be spent studying superhardened silos and deep underground basing.

In short, the Air Force doesn't seem interested in small missiles or in mobile basing. Les Aspin, in a letter to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, worries that Midgetman is in danger of becoming "Tubbyman." But Aspin has not yet backed out of the deal.

The deal is not only a delusion, it's a sham. The Midgetman, on which the Aspin-Gore gang is staking so much of its political reputation, is not even a complete concept. Right now, its main function is to pull political weight to keep the MX missile alive. It's Caspar Weinberger's friendly ghost. □

BY ROBERT FRIEDMAN

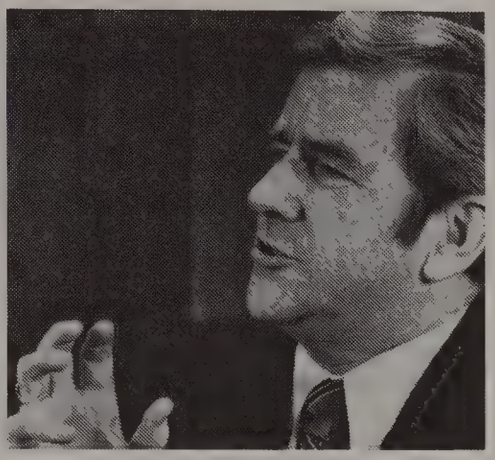
The Bomb And Jerry Show

Saturday mornings the television spectrum is reserved for children's cartoons and fundamentalist preachers. In some locations around the country it is possible to catch an old episode of *Tom and Jerry* right before the Reverend Jerry Falwell's *Old-Time Gospel Hour*. The juxtaposition is not altogether inappropriate: the state of eternal warfare between cat and mouse that has entertained generations of kids is a suitable allegory for the battle that the televangelist from Lynchburg, Virginia, has been waging against his enemies for the past few years. Just when you think Jerry's cornered—when the secular humanists have lowered the boom, or when the liberal politicians have tied him in knots—he manages to escape with that smug smile intact.

This season Falwell has set his sights on the nuclear freeze movement—the "freezeniks," as he calls them. Since the beginning of the year he has been using his weekly Saturday morning sermons, broadcast over 400 television stations around the country, to accuse the freeze movement of being a cat's-paw for the Soviet Union. Here's a sampling of some of his remarks for those of you who may have been busy watching *Smurfs:*

- "In the Kremlin, Andropov or somebody decides that we need 300,000 to march in Stockholm or Berlin or New York, and the robots stand up and start marching for a nuclear freeze. This idea of unilateral disarmament is nothing more than slavery for our children." (March 20, 1983)
- "We're facing today a movement in America that threatens to empty these churches . . . . If they're successful in disarming the United States of America—locking this nation into an imbalance of power with the Soviet Union, a hostile aggressor nation—in my opinion, this church and thousands like this one, will cease to be filled-churches on the Lord's Day. And not too far in the future." (April 17, 1983)

These eschatological comments delivered on the *Old-Time Gospel Hour* are but a small part of a projected 18-month effort that Falwell has called "the most massive campaign" he has ever mounted. In his effort to smite the freeze movement, he has also taken out full-page ads in *The Washington Post* and more than 70 other newspapers. (The ads ask readers to fill out a "Peace Through Strength Ballot" posing such leading questions as, "Are you willing to trust the survival of America to a nuclear freeze agreement with the Soviet Union, a nation which rejects on-site inspection of military facilities to insure compliance?") He has traveled around the country appearing on television talk shows and speaking to editorial boards of major newspapers. He has met with President Reagan and members of the National Security Council to discuss the arms race. He has published his own 16-page booklet, "Special Briefing Opposing an Immediate Nuclear Freeze," based on materials provided to him by the White House. And he aired this spring a one-hour, prime-time special on the nuclear freeze with the avowed purpose of turning public opinion around on this life-or-death issue.



Falwell is now taking aim at "freezeniks"

It is Falwell's mouse-eyed view of world affairs, as expressed in his television special, that the Soviet Union is ready to pounce on a helpless America. "If today the hotline rang in the White House," he says, sitting in the otherwise empty sanctuary of his Thomas Road Baptist Church, "and if Andropov advised President Reagan that you either must surrender or burn, the President would have a very, very serious decision to make, because today we are inferior to the Soviet Union." The United States, he goes on to say, has a moral obligation to arm itself against this murderous bunch in the Kremlin, much as a father has the responsibility to protect his children. ("Suppose someone broke into your home, Dad, tonight, maybe midnight or 1 a.m. . . ?") If you don't believe there are people with evil intentions out there waiting to get you, Falwell says, addressing the ultra-liberal crowd in New York, just try sleeping in Central Park one night.

These simplistic notions, a country preacher's brew of paranoia and patriotism, are difficult to refute, being outside the realm of rational discourse. They are intended to intoxicate viewers on an emotional level and get them, among other things, to open up their pocketbooks. For although Falwell sincerely believes in his political mission, it is as a spiritual pitchman that he earns his living. And the "freezeniks" are, for fundraising purposes, at least, a blessing in disguise.

According to Cal Thomas, a Moral Majority spokesman, Falwell's nuclear freeze special drew a far bigger response than anything he had ever done before. "We are getting thousands of new names a month," Thomas says, names that Falwell can then use for his highly-professional direct-mail operation. Indeed, the campaign has been so successful—"We've helped turn the country around on this," Thomas boasts—that Falwell may have already milked the issue for what it's worth. "I doubt the freeze will be a big deal in 1984," Thomas says.

One of Falwell's favorite fundraising tactics is to cast himself as a victim of the liberal press, but the fact is most people in the media have been far too tolerant of his excesses. One group that has taken exception to Falwell's fundamentalist bullying is People for the American Way, an organization founded several years ago by television producer Norman Lear. The group, which takes no official position on the freeze, has prepared two public service announcements for television and is urging concerned citizens to demand equal time for opposing views from stations that aired Falwell's prime-time special this spring. "It was a blatant involvement in the political process on his part," says Robert Alley, a religion professor at the University of Richmond, who is planning to file such a request with independent television station WRLH in Richmond, Virginia.

Such actions won't keep Falwell off the air—he does, after all, have the right to express his views in any medium he wishes—but they may help remind the rest of us that we are only watching a cartoon preacher. □

BY ROBERTA T. MANNING

Trust-Busting American Style

"What About The Soviets?" It is a common and increasingly critical question within the peace movement, and one we simply can no longer postpone facing. If the people of the United States do not assume a more realistic and complex view of Soviet realities, the cause of peace will be lost.

Like much of American journalism nowadays, however, the article on the unofficial Soviet peace movement in the June issue of *Nuclear Times* ("Trust-busting Soviet Style" by *Newsweek*'s Mark Bowers) scores high on human interest but omits essential information.

Bowers focuses on the tribulations of the wife of an "unofficial" Moscow peace activist foolhardy enough to go to the rural backwaters of Siberia and circulate a petition calling for trust in the United States of Ronald Reagan. But neither Bowers' article nor earlier accounts in *Nuclear Times* about unofficial Soviet peace activities clearly expound the political goals of The Group To Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. or indicate precisely in what ways its aims differ from the policies of the Soviet government and the programs of the various official Soviet peace organizations—the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet-American Friendship Society, and the Soviet Women's Committee (a dual purpose peace group and professional women's lobby).

Unlike The Group To Establish Trust, these are mass organizations with hundreds of thousands of members. Their ranks include significant elements of the Soviet political establishment with whom the people and government of the United States will eventually have to deal in order to end the arms race. To neglect entirely the position of the Soviet political establishment is to undermine the chances of peace.

The failure of Bowers and *Nuclear Times* to address important questions stems from the inadequacies of our media coverage of the array of arms control proposals put forth by the Soviet government in the last half dozen years. These proposals, dubbed "the Soviet peace program" by the Soviet press, include a nuclear freeze; a unilateral commitment on the part of the Soviets not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; mutual, substantial cutbacks in strategic weapons of all kinds, with an eye to their eventual elimination; and the removal of *all* nuclear weapons from Europe (not just the removal of Soviet land-based missiles in return for an agreement on the part of the United States not to deploy a new series of Euromissiles, as Reagan's misnamed "zero option" proposes).

The Soviets have also called for mutual troop reductions by Warsaw Pact and NATO nations, leading to the eventual dissolution of the two military blocs and the withdrawal of Soviet and American troops from Eastern and Western Europe. They have advocated a ban on the extension of the arms race into space and the creation of nuclear free zones in various areas of the world.

The official American response to these proposals has been to ignore many of them outright, aided by the reluctance of our free press to take them seriously. Administrations from Nixon to Reagan have used Soviet willingness to discuss arms control to attempt to regain for the United States the overwhelming nuclear superiority that this nation enjoyed before the Soviets built up their own large arsenal of intercontinental missiles at the end of the 1960s.

If any historians survive the next two decades to write the history of the New Cold War, our side won't come off looking very well. Our officials have been able to get away with this, despite overwhelming public support for arms control, due to the complexity of military technology, deliberate manipulation of such complexities to deceive the public, and public faith in our government's willingness to do what is right. Even so, it is unlikely that this situation could have long prevailed were it not for widespread public hatred, ignorance, and fear of the Soviet Union, fed by the sharp deterioration of the quality of news coverage of that nation in the last 15 years.

Prompted perhaps by editorial orders to reporters to disregard "official" Soviet news sources or by a decline in the linguistic abilities of our Moscow-based press corps (few of whom, particularly in television, know more than a handful of words of Russian), U.S. media coverage of the Soviet Union has become increasingly limited and one-sided. Focusing upon the predominantly pro-Western—and now largely defunct—dissident movement, with which reporters could easily communicate (since many dissidents know English), the media has treated us to the persecutions of these dissidents and their preoccupation with the wrongs done them and their families in the Stalin era, and pitifully little more. In the process many essential Soviet developments have been overlooked.

We consequently know about the existence of the miniscule Group to Establish Trust (some members of which have subsequently emigrated). But we are not informed of the full range of Soviet arms control proposals or of the many well-attended peace demonstrations that have occurred in the Soviet Union in the last 18 months, sponsored by city councils and "official" Soviet peace organizations.

A similar selectivity prevails on other issues. When Soviet economic growth rates falter, this information is given great prominence in our press as evidence of a major "economic crisis" in the Soviet Union, while the sudden upsurge in industrial production that occurred in the first quarter of this year when Soviet industrial output rose by 4.7 percent (compared to 2.8 percent last year) was little mentioned by the U.S. media. The increasing outspokenness of the Soviet press and its more pointed criticism of Soviet institutions and government practices also have gone unnoticed, leaving most Americans with views of Soviet civil liberties and political practices that are at least 30 years out of date. While one should certainly not minimize Soviet limitations on civil liberties, careful definitions of these limitations should be sought to avoid misleading the public.

The systematic selectivity of U.S. media coverage borders on censorship, a term which all of us are more comfortable in applying to the Soviet Union than to ourselves. Nonetheless, this situation can no longer be ignored by the American peace movement. The ignorance and prejudice perpetuated by such unbalanced reporting feeds public tolerance for a renewed arms race that is not only senseless but threatens us all with annihilation.

—Roberta T. Manning

Roberta Manning is associate professor of Russian history at Boston College and author of The Crisis of the Old Order in Russia *(Princeton University Press). She lived in the Soviet Union while working on her dissertation.*

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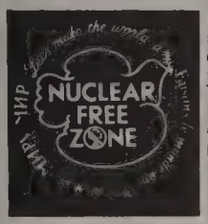

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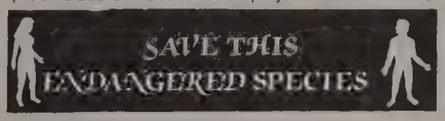

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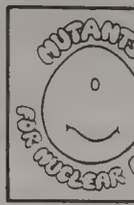

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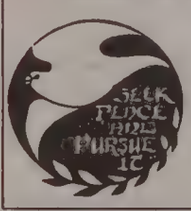

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AWARDS

Nominations are being sought for the **sixth annual Martin Luther King Jr. Award** to be presented January 1984, to a person or group making a significant contribution to the nonviolent struggle for a peaceful and just society. Emphasis on recognizing unheralded persons/groups. Nominations should be limited to four typed pages. Send to: *Marci Ameluxen, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 by October 1, 1983.*

GOOD READING

WINTER (A Parable) by Edwin Ritchie: This unique and angry view of the arms race likening men to mindless boys will brace you at the barricades. Hardcovers $6.25 postpaid. *CENTRALIA PRESS, PO Box 607, Floral Park, NY 11002.*

What to Tell the Children ($5 from Contemporary Issues Clearinghouse, 1410 South 2nd Street, Pocatello, ID 83201.) An immensely valuable packet of articles on how fear of nuclear war affects children, with lists of organizations, films, books, questionnaires and innumerable suggestions for teachers and parents who want to encourage kids to take positive action.

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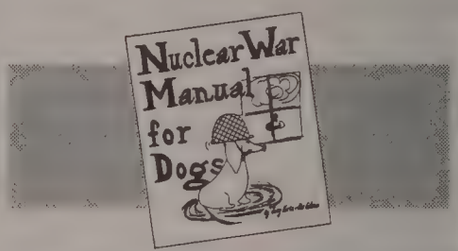

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Closing for the next issue: August 24.
Mail to: *Community Bulletin Board, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, Room 512, New York, NY 10001.*

•CALENDAR•

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM MARCH

A broad coalition of black, peace, religious, labor and other activist organizations, chaired by Coretta Scott King and the Rev. Joseph Lowery, has issued a call to the nation to join this march in **Washington, DC,** on August 27. Related activities will take place before and after the demonstration. Many local organizations are arranging for transportation to the march. The national office is Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization, PO Box 26020, Le Droit Park Station, Washington, DC 20001 (202) 467-6445.

FIRST ANNUAL FREEZE WALK

On October 1, in almost every state, people will be walking to raise funds for the national and local freeze campaigns. To participate, contact your local freeze office or the Clearinghouse of the National Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Blvd, Ste 404, St. Louis MO 63108 (314) 533-1169.

PEACEDAY

On Sunday, October 2, Peace Links is sponsoring its second annual Peaceday celebration, a national event with activities ranging from art displays to picnics to parades. For more information, contact Peace Links, 600 New Hampshire Av NW, Ste 1000, Washington, DC 20037 (202) 965-3410.

EUROMISSILE DEMONSTRATIONS

From October 21-24, in conjunction with major protest actions in Western Europe and Canada, demonstrations will take place across the country to protest the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe. For information about activities in your area, contact local chapters of groups such as Clergy and Laity Concerned, Mobilization for Survival, SANE, War Resisters League, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This month, the American Friends Service Committee (215) 241-7000 will open a clearinghouse for information about Euromissile protests.

SECRETS IN THE SAND

The San Francisco Mime Troupe will be touring the Bay Area of California with this new musical/mystery, inspired in part by the true stories of atomic test victims, from Aug 6 through Oct 2. For itinerary, contact: San Francisco Mime Troupe, 855 Treat St, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 285-1717.

AUGUST 12

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Film, *Dark Circle*, with an appearance by Pulitzer prize-winning author Alice Walker; San Francisco Women's Building. *Contact:* The Bay Area Women's Party for Survival, 13 Columbus, San Francisco, CA 94111 (415) 981-8909.

AUGUST 13

IOWA

• **Des Moines** Forums including a discussion of arms control issues with Democratic presidential candidates Mondale, Glenn, Hollings, Cranston and Hart; Des Moines Civic Center. *Contact:* PEACE, PO Box 1763, Sioux City, IA 51102 (712) 255-2335.

AUGUST 16

CONNECTICUT

• **Hartford** Program on the campaign against cruise and Pershing 2 missiles with peace activists and the slide show *On the Brink*; Unitarian Meeting House, 50 Bloomfield Av. *Contact:* Roz Spier, Greater Hartford Nuclear Arms Freeze Campaign, 111 Whapley, Glastonbury, CT 06033 (203) 633-0120.

AUGUST 20

ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Martin Luther King Memorial Rally with Congressman James McNulty; Mansfield Park. *Contact:* Neighborhood Center, 2160 N Sixth Av, Tucson, AZ 85705 (602) 791-3247.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Northfield** Second annual meeting of Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War, through August 21. *Contact:* STOP Nuclear War, PO Box 232, Northfield, MA 01360 (413) 498-5311, ext 264.

AUGUST 21

MINNESOTA

• **Grand Rapids** People Camp with the theme, "Doing Justice: Myself, My Family, My Community, My World," through Aug 27; Lake Pokegama. *Contact:* Friends for a Non-Violent World, 1925 Nicollet Av S, Minneapolis, MN 55403 (612) 870-1501.

AUGUST 22

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Talk, "Reflections in the Shadow of a Mushroom Cloud," will focus on questions of ethics posed by nuclear weapons. *Contact:* Washington PSR, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-9246.

AUGUST 27

OREGON

• **Portland** 200-mile Peace Walk from Portland to Hanford, Washington, to protest the reactivation of the PUREX plutonium plant there. *Contact:* Northwest Action for Disarmament, PO Box 4212, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 653-8274.

SEPTEMBER 4

WISCONSIN

• **Clam Lake** CD action and support rally at the ELF Navy Facility; on Sept 3, nonviolence training will be offered at a location TBA. *Contact:* Tom Hastings, PO Box 364, Webster, WI 54893 (715) 866-8322.

SEPTEMBER 9

MINNESOTA

• **St. Paul** Dinner to honor the lawyers who donated their services to Honeywell defendants; Prom Ball Room, University Av. *Contact:* The Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Rm 101, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362 ext 24.

SEPTEMBER 10

IOWA

• **Sheldon** Workshops on social issues including a nuclear freeze update and a screening of the film *If You Love This Planet*. *Contact:* Northwest Iowans for Peace and Justice, RR 1, PO Box 41, Sheldon, IA 51201.

SEPTEMBER 11

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

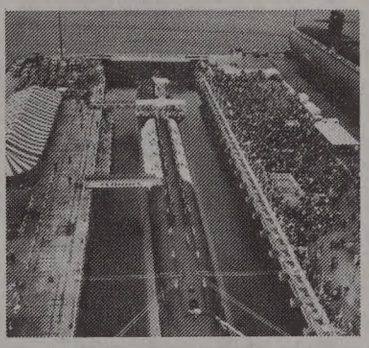
• Arms Bazaar Witness to protest the Air Force Association's annual weapons exposition at the Sheraton Washington Hotel, through Sept 15. *Contact:* Dawn Longenecker, Sojourners, PO Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017 (202) 636-3637.

SEPTEMBER 13

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Trial for six of the 151 people arrested at Honeywell Corporate Headquarters on April 18; your support at the trial is welcomed. On Sept 22, 57 more defendants will be tried; Hennepin County Government Center. *Contact:* The Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Rm 101, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362 ext 24.

SEPTEMBER 17



RHODE ISLAND

To protest the Sept 24 launching of the USS *Rhode Island*, a Trident submarine, marches from three locations—Barrington, Woonsocket, and Newport—will converge on Quonset Point on Sept 20 for a day-long vigil. From there, protesters will march to Groton, Connecticut, for a major rally and nonviolent CD action on Sept 24. *Contact:* Mobilization for Survival, PO Box 2534, Providence, RI 02906 (401) 421-8612 or 861-9552.

SEPTEMBER 19

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Conference, "Teaching Peace Through Literature." *Contact:* Educators for Social Responsibility, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-9246.

SEPTEMBER 23

NEW YORK

• **Upstate** Conference on organizing for conversion of military bases and plants to peaceful uses, through Sept 25; location TBA. *Contact:* American Friends Service Committee, 82 Euclid Av, Syracuse, NY 13210 (315) 475-4822.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Harrisburg** Second annual statewide freeze conference, with Randy Kehler, Representative Bob Edgar, and others, through Sept 24, registration deadline Sept 9; *Contact:* Pennsylvania Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 900 S Arlington Av, Rm 103, Harrisburg, PA 17109 (717) 545-1710.

SEPTEMBER 24

NEW YORK

• **Saratoga Springs** Civil Defense Olympics with Relocation Obstacle Course, Musical Shelters, Nuclear Scavanger Hunt and more; Saratoga County Fairgrounds. *Contact:* Janet Lobdell, PO Box 424, Saratoga Springs, NY 12866 (518) 584-8621.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Women Strike for Peace luncheon to give the Peace Woman of the Year Award to Petra Kelly, Green Party member of the W. German Parliament. *Contact:* WSP, 145 S 13 St, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 923-0861.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Northwest Peace Festival, "A Celebration of Peace," with live entertainment, dance marathon, auctions, fair and more, through Sept 25. *Contact:* Washington PSR, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-9246.

SEPTEMBER 25

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Legislative seminar covering the topics of intervention, militarization, first-strike weapons and military spending, through Sept 28. *Contact:* Washington DC office of WILPF, 120 Maryland Av NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 546-8644.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** Talk, "A Christian Response to Nuclear Weapons," with Jim Wallis of Sojourners Magazine. *Contact:* Thomas Merton Center, 1111 E Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

SEPTEMBER 30

CALIFORNIA

• **Sonoma County** "Our Love Goes Deeper Than Our Anger," women's gathering on feminism and nonviolence, through Oct 2; Cazedero Music Camp. *Contact:* WRL West, 85 Carl St, San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 731-1220.

NEW YORK

• **New York** An educational conference on disarmament for the performing arts community, "Creating for a Future: The Role of the Artist in the Nuclear Age," with Helen Caldicott, Daniel Ellsberg, Dick Gregory, Colleen Dewhurst and many others, through

PHOTO COURTESY OF GENERAL DYNAMICS

Bill Plympton ©83
SINCE RUSSIA IS A POLICE STATE, THE PEOPLE AREN'T FREE TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE ARMS RACE.
FORTUNATELY, HERE IN AMERICA PEOPLE ARE FREE TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE ARMS RACE..
AND I'M FREE TO IGNORE THEM.
STOP

Oct 2; The Loeb Student Center at New York University. *Contact:* Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-7921.

OCTOBER 1

CALIFORNIA

• **Sacramento** Religious Symposium, "Faith, War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," with Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, the Rev. James Lawson, and more. A rally and concert will follow the symposium on Saturday evening. *Contact:* Sacramento Religious Community for Peace, 410 Santa Ynez Way, Sacramento, CA 95816 (916) 456-2616.

NEW YORK

• **New York** 15-kilometer Walkathon for Survival to protest the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. *Contact:* National Office of the Mobilization for Survival, 853 Bway, Rm 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

OCTOBER 3

INDIANA

• **Goshen** Conference on nuclear war with Richard Barnet and others, through Oct 4; Goshen College. *Contact:* Don Blosser, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526 (219) 533-3161.

OCTOBER 6

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** "October 6: A Demonstation of Faith and Conscience," a gathering of Americans and West Germans to oppose the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles and celebrate the 300th anniversary of the immigration of German pacifists to Pennsylvania. *Contact:* October 6 Witness, 2125 Chestnut St, Philadelphia, PA 19103 (215) 569-1974.

OCTOBER 8

CONNECTICUT

• **Fairfield** Conference, "Images of War: Implications for Education in a Nuclear Age," with Gaddis Smith, Colin Greer and others; Fairfield University. *Contact:* Bena Kallick, 224 Meadowbrook Rd, Fairfield, CT 06430 (203) 255-9714.

OCTOBER 9

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Salem** "The Arms Race," a five-mile road race for disarmament; proceeds will go to SANE. *Contact:* Kyle Nagel, 183 Main St, Salem, NH 03079 (603) 898-1038.

OCTOBER 10

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty going into effect; location TBA. *Contact:* Greenpeace, 2007 "R" St NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 462-1177.

OCTOBER 14

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Workshops with Dave Dellinger on revolutionary nonviolence in preparation for an Oct 24 CD action at Honeywell Corporate Headquarters, through October 16. *Contact:* The Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Rm 101, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362 ext 24.

OCTOBER 15

COLORADO

• **Golden** Encirclement of the 17-mile perimeter of the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. *Contact:* AFSC, 1660 Lafayette St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-4508.

Thanks to everyone who mailed us Calendar information. The deadline for submitting October events is August 29.

Compiled by Walter Lew and Renata Rizzo with Laurie Goldman and David Kallick

Local Calendars

Many organizations around the country regularly compile news of disarmament-related events in their region. Because the NUCLEAR TIMES *calendar is limited in the number of events it can list, we suggest that you contact the following for more complete local information.*

ARIZONA

• Arizonans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 445 E 4 St, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 623-7951.

CALIFORNIA

Bay Area and Northern California

• *Disarmament Resource Center Calendar*, 942 Market St, Rm 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 495-0526.

Los Angeles and Southern California

• *Survival*, Southern California Alliance for Survival magazine, 1502 N Hobart Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 (213) 798-5886.

COLORADO

Denver

• *Peace Calendar*, Cornerstone Center for Peace and Justice, 940 Emerson St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 831-7692.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford Area

• Nuclear Arms Freeze Campaign/ Greater Hartford Area newsletter, 111 Whapley Rd, Glastonbury, CT 06033 (203) 633-0120.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Av NW, Washington, DC 20008 (202) 234-2000.

FLORIDA

• *Freezing Florida*, Florida Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze newsletter, AFSC, 130 19th Av SE, St Petersburg, FL 33705 (813) 822-5522.

GEORGIA

• AFSC regional office, 92 Piedmont Av NE, Atlanta, GA 30303 (404) 586-0460.

HAWAII

• *The Pacific Journal of Peace*, PO Box 3975, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808) 521-2916.

IDAHO

• Snake River Alliance, PO Box 1731, Boise, ID 83701 (208) 344-9161.

ILLINOIS

Chicago Area

• *Peace Calendar*, League of Women Voters of Chicago, 67 E Madison St, Suite 1406, Chicago, IL 60603 (302) 236-0315.

IOWA

• Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

INDIANA

• University Church newsletter, PO Box 3024, W Lafayette, IN 47906 (317) 494-3416.

LOUISIANA

• Center for Disarmament Education, PO Box 23790, Baton Rouge, LA 70893 (504) 383-0532.

MAINE

• Maine Clergy and Laity Concerned newsletter, PO Box 110, Stillwater, ME 04489 (207) 827-3107.

MARYLAND

• *Maryland Peace Calendar*, Peace Coordinating Council, Chaplain's Office, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 338-8188.

MASSACHUSETTS

• *New England Disarmament Events Calendar*, Disarmament Action Network, 639 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 776-9621.

MICHIGAN

• Uniting Michigan for Peace, 4318 Michigan Union, 530 S State St, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 (313) 994-1268.

MINNESOTA

• Minnesota Nuclear Freeze Campaign calendar of events, 2395 University Av, Rm 212, St Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-4616.

NEBRASKA

• Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 1715 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 341-4427.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• Nashua Peace Center newsletter, 22 Meade St, Nashua, NH 03060 (603) 889-0049.

NEW JERSEY

• 24-hour antinuclear New Jersey information line, (201) 267-2220. Organized by SEA Alliance, PO Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976.

NEW YORK

Central New York

• *Peace Newsletter*, Syracuse Peace Council, 924 Burnet Av, Syracuse, NY 13203 (315) 472-5478.

Long Island

• *Networks*, Long Island Network for Peace and Justice newsletter, 550 Post Av, Westbury, NY 11590 (516) 379-6847.

New York City

• Greenwich Village Coalition Against Nuclear Arms calendar of events, 70 E 10 St, New York, NY 10003 (212) 929-0791.

Western New York

• *Peace Center Report*, Western New York Peace Center, 440 Leroy Av, Buffalo, NY 14215 (716) 835-4073.

NORTH CAROLINA

• *Rural Southern Voice for Peace*, Rte 5, PO Box 335, Burnsville, NC 28714.

OHIO

• Ohio Freeze Campaign, 640 S Ohio Av, Columbus, OH 43205 (614) 253-7867.

OREGON

• Citizen Action for Lasting Security, PO Box 12763, Salem, OR 97309 (503) 371-8002.

PENNSYLVANIA

Western Pennsylvania

• The Thomas Merton Center newsletter, 1111 E Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

RHODE ISLAND

• R.I. Mobilization for Survival newsletter, PO Box 2534, Providence, RI 02906 (401) 861-9552.

TEXAS

• Austin Peace and Justice Coalition newsletter, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 263-2586.

VERMONT

• Burlington Peace Coalition newsletter, 300 Maple St, Burlington, VT 05401 (802) 862-4929, 658-6289.

WASHINGTON

• *Northwest Nuclear Xchange*, 6110 9th Av NW, Seattle, WA 98107 (206) 543-8816.

WEST VIRGINIA

• *Peace News*, PO Box 246, Charleston, WV 25321 (304) 342-2395.

WISCONSIN

• Nuke Watch, 315 W Gorham St, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 256-4146.

WYOMING

• *Freeze Breeze*, Wyoming Nuclear Weapons Freeze Coalition newsletter, 1601 S Melrose, Casper, WY 82601 (307) 235-4573.

CARTOON BY BILL PLYMPTON

•RESOURCES•

DIRECTORIES

Progressive Periodicals Directories ($4 for the U.S. edition; $2 for the Southern regional edition; $5 for both from Progressive Education, Box 120574, Nashville, TN 37212). Nearly 400 listings of national magazines, newspapers and newsletters concerned with various aspects of social justice, including the environment, health, international concerns, and peace.

Media on Nuclear War and the Arms Race (free from Michigan Media, University of Michigan, 416 Fourth Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109). A free listing of films available for rental from the University of Michigan Media Resources Center. The center is also at work on a *National Directory of AV Materials on Nuclear War and the Arms Race*, to be published this fall. If you would like your materials listed, write to Karen Sayer, Film Consultant, Michigan Media.

1983 Handbook: Arms Control and Peace Organizations/Activities. Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations. ($12 and $15 respectively from The Forum Institute, 1215 15th Street NW, Washington, DC 20005). State-by-state listings and detailed profiles (including staff size, activities, publications and resources) of national organizations. The directories do not include community-based and regional groups. Since many of the groups involved with Soviet-American relations have miniscule budgets, the directory is meant to inspire cooperative use of limited resources.

REPORTS

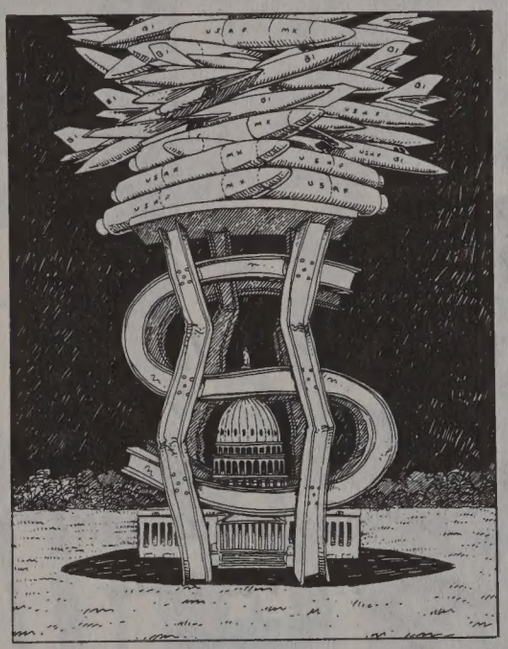
The Major 1984 Presidential Candidates: Their Records on Arms Control and the Military Budget. ($5, less for bulk orders from Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108). Invaluable profiles of Democratic and Republican candidates, including the incumbent, with their votes on issues such as the freeze, the MX, the B-bomber, SALT II, chemical weapons and the neutron bomb, and overall ratings of their voting records.

1982 Voting Record, prepared by Jim Duff and Howard Morland (25¢, less for bulk orders from Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002). Listings of where each representative and senator stood on key votes on military spending and some foreign policy issues, plus an analysis of the key role of Congress in stopping the arms race: "It was Congress that finally ended the war in Vietnam in 1975 by cutting off the money."

Uncle Sam Goes to School: College and Universities with Military Contracts (50¢ from AFSC/NARMIC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102). A map and listings of universities favored by the Pentagon, along with a shorter list of the handful of college conversion projects. For $2, NARMIC can provide more information on individual contracts; ask by company or university, or by county.

BOOKS

Military Expansion, Economic Decline, by Robert W. DeGrasse Jr. ($11.95 paper plus $2.05 postage from Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011). Comparing the effect



of military spending on the economy and job market with the effect of using the military budget in other ways, this study concludes that higher arms spending magnifies the economic problems of developed countries, and "is largely responsible for the massive deficits we face." Thus, Japan and Sweden, which do not have military budgets, are more stable economically than the United States or Great Britain. Using the semi-conductor industry as a case study, the report also explodes the myth that miltary research and development (R&D) leads to technological innovation.

Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence, edited by Pam McAllister (New Society paper, $8.95). A fascinating and compelling anthology of songs, poems, essays, interviews and speeches by Barbara Deming, Alice Walker, Holly Near, Grace Paley, Joan Baez, and many other feminist peace activists. Some of the most interesting material describes the long and honorable history of feminist pacifism.

The Sky Would Fall, by John Prados (Dial, $17.95). The author of *The Soviet Estimate: U.S. Intelligence Analysis and Russian Military Strength*, tells the chilling story of Operation Vulture, a narrowly-aborted scheme which would have meant U.S. intervention in Vietnam as early as 1954. To aid the French against Vietnamese nationalists, Eisenhower and his top aides, including John Foster Dulles, considered war on China and the use of atomic weapons.

The Boys Behind the Bombs, by Michael Parfit (Little, Brown, $15.95), portrays military R&D scientists and tech-team administrators who design today's nuclear and conventional weapons. These super-competent, super-patriotic "soldiers of the intellect" are engrossed in the technical sweetness of what they consider their mission, which for them effaces moral considerations.

No More War!, by Linus Pauling (Dodd, Mead paper, $7.95). Twenty-five years ago, this dissenter scientist, winner of two Nobel Prizes—one for chemistry and one for peace—published this indictment of the potential effects of nuclear weapons. ("The development of great nuclear weapons requires that war be given up, for all time.") The updated anniversary edition has a new preface by Pauling and a biographical sketch. Pauling concludes by proposing "research for peace" be undertaken by a UN World Peace Research Organization.

Beyond Survival: New Directions for the Disarmament Movement, edited by Michael Albert and David Dellinger (South End Press, $8 paper). Important, thoughtful essays on ways of broadening the single-issue focus of the disarmament movement into a critique of the larger society. Contributors include Leslie Cagan on the connection between militarism and anti-feminism, Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway on the economic effects of military spending, and Noam Chomsky on intervention.

TOOLS

Force Level Calculator ($3 from Center for Defense Information, 303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Avenue SW, Washington, DC 20024.) A pocket-sized slide rule that compares at-a-glance nuclear capabilities of the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as comparisons of military power and GNP of NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and China.

Winning a Freeze Referendum ($5, including postage, from Upper Pinellas Nuclear Freeze Coalition, PO Box 7477, Clearwater, FL 33575). A how-to guide to passing a local freeze resolution, using the case history of Clearwater, Florida. The guide includes all campaign materials and press coverage. **—Ann Marie Cunningham**

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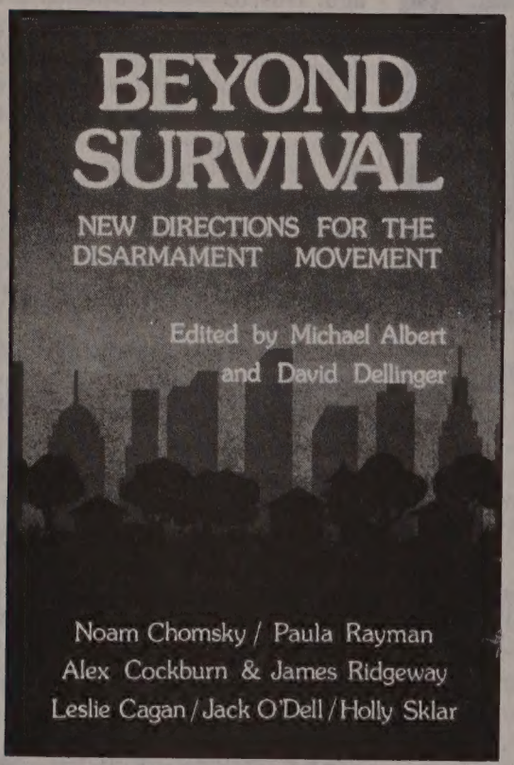
BEYOND SURVIVAL
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Edited by Michael Albert and David Dellinger
Noam Chomsky / Paula Rayman
Alex Cockburn & James Ridgeway
Leslie Cagan / Jack O'Dell / Holly Sklar

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Nine political activists and journalists examine the common roots of "nuclear madness," militarism, racism, sexism, and class oppression, and explore the connections between the disarmament movement and feminist, civil rights and labor struggles. The contributors draw on the experiences of the progressive movements of the past two decades to develop strategies relevant to the 1980s. Authors include Dave Dellinger, Noam Chomsky, Holly Sklar, Leslie Cagan, Mike Albert, Alex Cockburn, James Ridgeway, Jack O'Dell and Paula Raymen.

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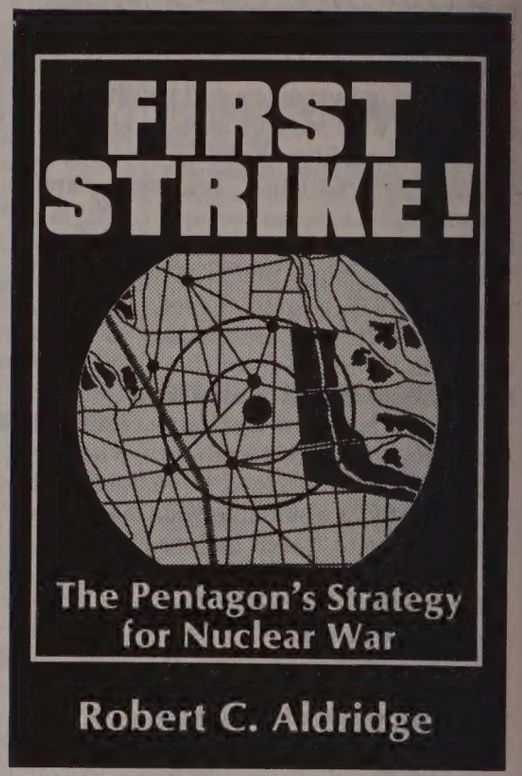

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